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GRÁBÁLTÁIS SÉARLUÍS MÓIR

THE
CONQUESTS OF CHARLEMAGNE

EDITED FROM
THE BOOK OF LISMORE AND THREE OTHER VELLUM MSS.

BY

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PREFACE.

THE early Irish were well acquainted with Charlemagne and his career.¹ His life, in fact, and his court and his ambitions had their due effect upon the Irish kings. Hence it is not very surprising that in later times such a text as the present should have become popular, not only for its own sake—and as a piece of literature it is quite well written, and the death of Roland really pathetic—but also because it must have appealed to a people who, with their innumerable houses and foundations on the Continent, could hardly have wholly forgotten their lettered ancestors who had once adorned the French court.

The following text is one of a number of allied pieces of literature translated into Late-Middle or Early-Modern Irish in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, at a time when the English power in Ireland was reduced to a minimum and the Norman invaders had become gaelicised. The present story is taken direct from a Latin original, but others were translated from French and others again from Middle English. The texts are preserved in vellum MSS. of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries and have certain traits in common. Thus our text resembles very much in style and vocabulary the translation of the French story *Fierebras* contained in a fifteenth century vellum, and also the Early-English story of *Bevis of Hampton*, the fragmentary *Queste del Saint Graal*, the *History of the Lombards* and *Maun-deville's Travels*. This last is the only one of these pieces that we can date with any certainty, and it was written in 1475, as Fingin O'Mahony the translator tells us in his interesting preface. I shall try to show that our present text must have been written

1. Charlemagne knew Ireland too, and sent fifty shekels of silver as a present to the community at Clonmacnois. His favourite Alcuin was educated there. Dungal wrote letters and poems to him. Scotus Eriu-gena (i.e. the Irish-born) resided for a time in the palace of Charlemagne's grandson, Charles the Bald. Professor Mac Neill has sustained the thesis that Charlemagne's career consciously influenced later Irish kings.

in or about 1400.¹ If before this date, it could not have been long before, for it is almost as much an Early-Modern as a Late-Middle Irish text.

THE LATIN ORIGINAL.

The Latin original from which the text was made is ascribed to Turpin, Archbishop of Rheims, a contemporary of Charlemagne, and he professes in the text to be the author of certain chapters. His authorship was not questioned when the book was first printed in 1566 by S. Scardius of Frankfort-on-Main in a tome called “*Germanicarum rerum quatuor celebriores vetustiores-que chronographi*,” nor yet by his next editor. Both accepted it as the genuine work of Turpin, who was a real character and flourished from about 753 to 800, and was known to the Germans as *Tylpinus*.

Gaston Paris however proves in his Latin treatise *De Pseudo Turpino* what other scholars had long suspected, that the chronicle is not Turpin's at all, but the work of different people writing at different times between the beginning of the eleventh and the middle of the twelfth century, that is from 1020 to about 1150. Some of the work is built upon old French *Chansons de Geste*, for certain of the names such as *Aigolandus*, *Marsile*, etc., are found only in the *Chansons*. The bulk of the book from Chapter VI. to Chapter XXXII., with the prologue, was probably written by a monk of St. Andrew's at Vienne with some alterations by a monk of St. Denis any time between 1109 and 1119. The first five chapters are the oldest part of the work, and were obviously written by a monk of Compostella. There is no pretence in these earlier chapters that Turpin is the author, and as for Roland, whose name later on dominates the entire legend in every country, he is not even mentioned; the only object of the worthy writer

1. It is probably nearly a hundred years older than the *Maundeville*, which abounds in foreign words, as *mainer* manner, *maindser* manger, *pota* pot, *prelait* prelate, *pudar* dust, *raibher* river, *rostad* roast, *statuid* statute, *taibern* tavern, *tumba* tomb, *uindimint* ointment, *carbuncula* carbuncle, *clima* clime, *cursa* a course, *fersu* a verse, *fiſice* a physician, *graibel* gravel, *halla* a hall, *lampa* a lamp, *offrail* offering, *mitall* nettle, *perse* a perch, *titul* title, *tristeil* trestles, *deithter* difference, *fundamint* foundation, etc.

being to urge the faithful to visit the tomb of St. James at Santiago de Compostella.

This chronicle soon became very popular. No less than five translations were made of it into Old French at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century. A splendid Welsh translation in which it is woven into the *Roman d' Otuel*, and part of the *Chanson de Roland*, was made not later than 1275.

The chronicle was first published in 1566, at Frankfort, and eighteen years later at the same place by Reuber. Subsequent editions appeared at Florence and Brussels and finally an accurate edition from seven vellum MSS. at Montpellier was published by M. Castets in 1880, the best of the vellums being of the twelfth or thirteenth century. "Si ce n'est pas," says Castets, "le Turpin primitif, c'est bien celui qui de bonne heure a été le Turpin officiel, c'est celui qu' on n'a cessé de lire de traduire et d'imiter au Moyen-Age et que les romanciers italiens depuis Nicolas de Padoue jusqu' à Arioste ont accepté comme le chroniqueur en titre des hauts faits de Charlemagne et de Roland."² I have made use of the Frankfort text of 1584³ (Fr.), and also of this text of Castets (C.), and compared the Irish carefully with both of them. These texts do not always agree with one another nor does the Irish text wholly agree with either of them, but now with one now with the other, and occasionally with neither.

HOW THE IRISH VERSIONS DIFFER FROM THE LATIN.

The following are the principal differences: all the Irish MSS. except the fragment in the King's Inns Library omit the prefatory epistle ascribed to Turpin which the published Latin texts contain, but which the Welsh also omits. It is a brief letter

1. Under the title of the "Ystorya de Carolo Magno" from the Red Book of Hergest, see "Y Cymmodor" of 1883 for the text, and of 1907 for the translation and notes by Rev. Robert Williams. The Turpin chronicle amounts to not much more than a third of the Welsh text, the rest being taken from the *Roman d'Otuel* and the *Chanson de Roland*. 2. It is the text "dont s'est servi Ciampi de dixhuit manuscrits à Paris, et de sept de Montpellier." 3. Entitled "veterum scriptorum qui Caesarum et imperatorum Gernanicorum res per aliquot secula gestas literis mandaverunt."

addressed to Leoprandus of Aix la Chapelle giving Turpin's reasons for writing the book, stating that he records events of which he had been an eye-witness,¹ and that he writes these doings of Charlemagne because they are not all found in the chronicle of St. Denis.²

The Irish translator in accordance with the Frankfort text [Fr.] omits the greater part of Chapter III. which Castets gives. This contains a list of the "urbes et majores villae" which Charles had conquered, and is evidently the work of some Spanish monk, for no Frenchman could have known them. These names with those of "insulæ et telures" number about one hundred and sixteen. The Irish translator may have had the list before him, but if so he preferred not to encumber his pages with a mass of names that could have had no significance for his readers. He omits, probably for the same reason, many of the countries and kings mentioned in Chapter IX. of the Latin. He very wisely passes by without notice the constant and tedious Latin exclamations "O virum laudabilem"! etc., and the tiresome and constantly recurring "quid plura"! His translation gains much by this restraint.

We see further traces of what I take to be a desire to avoid tediousness in the omission of the long-winded and obviously intercalated chapter "De septem artibus quas Karolus depingi fecit in palatio suo," namely, grammar, music, dialectic, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, and astrology. This chapter is also missing in the Frankfort text. The Irish also omits the short chapter on St. Denys, which is Chapter XXX. in Castets edition and XXIX. in the Frankfort text. The names of the seven bishops who consecrated the graveyards at Arles and Bordeaux are omitted with the names of their sees, probably as being of small interest to the Irish reader, and also, no doubt for the same reason, the chapter and a half containing the names of those buried at Blaye and Arles does not appear. The text in the Book of Lismore

1. Quae propriis oculis intuitus sum quatuordecim annos perambulans Hispaniam et Galeciam una cum eo [Carolo Magno] et exercitibus suis.

2. "in Sancti Dionysii cronica regali."

and the King's Inns Library text apparently with the same intention—i.e., to make the story more concise and readable—avoid all mention of chapters.¹

There is no attempt made—and this is to be regretted—to turn any of the occasional Latin verses into poetry.

THE IRISH MSS. THAT CONTAIN THE TEXT.

The Irish text is found in full in three vellum MSS. all probably of the fifteenth century, and in part in two other vellums of probably a like date. The copy I have taken for the basis of this text is that contained in the Book of Lismore (*Lis.*), compiled in the latter half of the fifteenth century. The original being in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire I have used a careful transcript made by O'Longan, the transcriber for the Royal Irish Academy of the *Lebor na h-Uidhre*, the Book of Leinster, etc. This copy belonged to Lord Roden and is now in my possession ; it is written line for line and word for word from the original.²

The second MS. I have used is another fifteenth or sixteenth century vellum (F.) in the library of the Franciscan Convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin, to which the courtesy of the Librarian allowed me access. This MS. contains forty-four pages in all. The page is about ten inches by six and a-half, and it is written in double columns. Our text fills sixteen pages. I deduce that it is not as old as the Book of Lismore from the following circumstance. In the Book of Lismore is contained a life of St. Finnchua at the end of which is this note, "The Friar O'Buagachain wrote this life from the Book of Monasterboice."³ On looking over the Augustinian MS. I found that it also contains a life of St. Finnchua with this colophon, "and he [Finnchua] wrote all in the book of Monasterboice *mic Bronuidh*, so that the friar O Buadhachain

1. I have given the arrangement into chapters from the other three MSS.

2. There is another copy of the Book of Lismore by O'Longan in the Royal Irish Academy, I have not used it but my own copy. There is an occasional variation of an accent or dot between them, but nothing of any importance. My friend Mr. Best who transcribed a text from O'Longan's Academy copy afterwards comparing it with a photograph of the original MS. found the copy to be marvellously exact.

3. "In braithair O Buagachain roscribh an betha so as *Leabhar Mainestreach* *Buiti*."

wrote out of (?) that book of [Monaster]boice into his own short Book, that is the Short Book of O Buadhchain.¹ From this it would appear that while the Friar actually wrote this part of the Book of Lismore, the Augustinian manuscript was only transcribed from an earlier book which *had* been written by the friar, and consequently is likely to be of a later date.²

The third MS. I have used is Egerton, 1781 (E.), in the British Museum, of which Miss Hull inost kindly transmitted to me a rotifer photograph. It is a neat copy of a fifteenth (?) century MS. and is complete.³

The fourth MS. I used (H.) was unfortunately imperfect. It is in Trinity College but is not separately mentioned in the catalogue of the MSS., where it will be sought in vain. It will be found however under the heading H.2.12, the number in the catalogue is 1304. This MS. contains the "Invencio ste crucis," and was transcribed by Teig O Riordain in 1475.⁴ In the middle of the long "invencio crucis," after the first ten folios, are four (not two) loose vellum leaves to which Nettlau first called attention, apparently in the same handwriting, and these contain part of

1. *Ocus ro sgrib [Finnchua] uile a lebar Mainistreach Buithe mic Bronuidh gur sgrib in brathair h Ua Buadhchain isin lebur sin Buithi in a lebur gerr fein.i. lebur gerr I Buadhchain.* 2. Unless indeed Stokes and O'Grady are mistaken in calling O'Buagachain one of the scribes of the Book of Lecan (*Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore*, p. vi.), as they would be if the scribe were only stating that O'Buagachain wrote what he was copying. 3. It was written mostly by Diarmuid bacach Mac Finghin mheic Pharrholain in M' Gaurans country in 1487, says O'Grady, *Gadelica*, vol. i., p. ix. 4. The colophon to the *Invencio sanctae crucis* runs thus, "is seadh ba slan do Iosa ac scribadh na sdaire so i. nile bliadhan (sic) ocus cetri ced bliadhan, ocus .u. bliadhna décc ocus tri .xx. cosa sanais so do cuaid tort ocus dia na sanais ocus aidhqi na heisergi ar aenlith. Tadg ua Rigbardain qui scripsit," i.e. "at the writing of this history Jesus had completed one thousand and four hundred years and fifteen and three score, up to last Annunciation, and the day of the Annunciation and the night of the Resurrection are one festival: Teig O Riordan, who wrote [this]." I found another fragment on eight folios in the same collection of pieces, i.e. H.2.12. It is on Bible history and was written by the same Teig O'Riordan. I am nearly sure the hand-writing is the same as in the Turpin fragment. The pages are of the same size and seem to have once belonged to the same book. The colophon runs "Tadg Uarigbardain qui scripsit ocus *cach oen leighfeus tabradh bennacht co paidir for a annaim* ocus *isedh* do bo slan don Tighearna an tan so nile bliadhan ocus cethri .c. ocus cethri bl. x. ocus tri .xx. gus an sanais so *cugaind* ocus an sanais ocus ind esergi ar oen lith in bl. sin. This makes the date of the Biblical fragment, 1474, and if the Turpin fragment belongs to the same book its date is probably the same

our text, namely a portion of Chapter IV., and Chapters V. to VIII. both inclusive, and Chapters X. to XV. both inclusive, and part of Chapter XVI. These last two chapters however are not in all places legible. The following folio was cut away by some vandal leaving only some of the letters showing on the margin. This MS. is in a fine bold script with each chapter beginning with a capital letter in red, and contains a text that varies from the other three much more than the other three do among themselves. It is a pity that it is not entire.

The only other MS. which I know to contain a fragment of the text is that marked No. 10 in the King's Inns Library, Dublin, to which my friend Mr. R. I. Best called my attention.¹ It contains part of the cognate story of Fortibras in the first eight folios, and the ninth folio begins the story of Charlemagne. It is very interesting to find that it starts with a version of Turpin's epistle to Leoprandus which none of the other MSS. even alluded to, and which the Welsh version also omits.²

THE DATE OF THE TRANSLATION.

It is difficult to date the Irish translation with any exactitude. I think it is older than would appear at first sight. The vellums that contain the story are probably late fifteenth century MSS. But the divergences in the text which they contain are so considerable that they show that a long time must have elapsed and very many copies been made from the original translation before they were themselves written. The Trinity College MS. differs far more from the Book of Lismore than either the Franciscan MS. or Egerton, 1781; this latter is a conflate text, the writer

1. It is from it he edited the fragment of *Betha Patraic* in *Anecdota* from Irish MSS., vol. iii., p. 29. 2. I discovered this MS. too late to make use of it in comparing the text, but I have examined it in the appendix. 3. The Book of Lismore was, as we have seen, made in the latter half of the fifteenth century. Stokes, who uses the Egerton MS. for his *Gaelic Maundeville*, says that part of it was written probably in Breffny not later than 1482. Mr. Best dates the King's Inns MS., the part of it he worked from, c. 1500, but this is in different hand and may be older. If the Trinity College loose folios are of the same date as the *invencio crucis* amid whose leaves they are found it must have been written about 1475.

apparently piling up his adjectives and descriptive epithets without any discrimination from two or more copies which may have lain before him, and the King's Inns MS. differs in places from all.

I thought at one time that two independent translations had been made from the Latin by different translators, and that the divergences could be thus accounted for. But I soon abandoned this supposition for the following reasons: (1) In Roland's endeavours to explain the nature of the Trinity to Feracutus he mentions that there are three things in the wheel of a cart, but —though his argument requires it—he does not mention what they are. In the Latin the three things are given as the "medius" (the old Frankfort edition reads "modius"), "brachia et circulus," or as we would say nave, spokes and tyre (or fellies). The original translator must have omitted these three things by accident after mentioning the wheel, or else he translated from a Latin MS. which had itself by accident omitted them. But had there been two independent translators from two Latin MSS. the words in the Latin text would surely have survived in some of the Irish MSS. (2) When Feracutus professes himself unable to understand how Christ could have gone down into hell and afterwards gone up into heaven, Roland plies him with the analogy of the mill-wheel and others of the same sort, but all the Irish texts omit the Latin "avis volans in aere quantum descendit tantum ascidit." The original translator either omitted this by accident or translated from a MS. that had omitted it, and this omission is reproduced in all the Irish MSS. (3) In the battle which Turpin calls the Battle of the Larvae or Masks, the striking fact that the standard set upon the wagon around which the Saracens rallied was a *red* flag would never have been omitted in *all* our copies had the original translator translated it. It is most unlikely that two translators would have omitted it. Hence it is not unreasonable to suppose that all our texts, at least our three full texts, spring from one and the same translation. This translation was made from the Latin and not from French or English, as is shown by the use of the Latin oblique cases for the nominative, as

“Tighearnas Nauorrorum ocus Basclorum,” adjectives like “Cinomanensis,” “Compostilanensis,” forms like “*ri Cornubiae*,” etc., and almost all the proper names retain their Latin forms. Indeed it seems very curious that no attempt to shorten them in accordance with the genius of the Irish language was made by the translator. Occasionally he does not quite understand or give the sense of the Latin, as when on page thirty he translates “*portus Ciserios*” by “*an sruth re n-abar Ciserios*,” though in other cases he uses the Latin abbreviated to “*port*.¹” In modern Irish “*port*” is used for the bank of a stream and he was probably led away by this. Nor does he seem to grasp the meaning of “*tradicisset*” used in the sense of “*betray*,” for he translates it by “*do thinnlaic cuigi*,” p. 100, nor did he understand “*pertica*” in the sentence, “*perticis verberando perimuntur*” which he translates “*slain by the weapons which are called pertica*,” p. 80, though when the same word occurs in the sense of pole or flag-staff he (perhaps not understanding it) gives it an Irish turn and makes it “*peirsi*,” p. 66. Upon the whole, however, he gave his contemporaries a good lucid satisfactory version of the Latin, and he must have known something about Charlemagne, for he translates Roland’s uncle (*avunculus*), i.e. Charles, by “*Roland’s mother’s brother*,” which is the true relationship.²

The deviations of the Irish texts from what I have tried to show must have been a single original, point to a considerable period having elapsed between the writing of that original and their own transcription. I do not think that from seventy to a hundred years can be too much to allow for such discrepancies. As our MSS. appear to date from before 1500, the translation may have been made about 1400. Modern Irish so far from beginning with Keating, as many people suppose, really goes back for something like a couple of centuries before his time.

The influence of either French or early English is seen in the form *Serlus* for *Carolus*, and we find side by side and on the same page such forms as *Cicerei* and *Siserei*, p. 78,

1. *Port*—“*défilé dans les montagnes, et par extension les montagnes elles mêmes.*” It also means a harbour. 2. Not like the *Fierebras* story which speaks of “*Rolandus mac mic do Serlus Mhór*”!

Runcia and Runsie, which shows that the translator was accustomed to pronounce C as S in certain foreign and non-Irish words. Did he get this habit from people who spoke French or from people who spoke English? I cannot point out any *certain* French influence, but the form *San Sem* or *Sin Sem* is clearly due to English,¹ and once we find in one **MS.** the form *Seumas*.

An interesting side light on the translator's time is found in his rendering of "omnes servi qui sub malis consuetudinibus pravorum dominorum religati tenebantur"² by "every person who was under '*biadhtachas*' and under slavery," p. 28, i.e. every person who held under that tenure. By "*biadhtachas*" I understand the obligation which many of the clansmen were under to supply food to or support and entertain their overlord with a certain number of his followers for so many days in the year, when it pleased the overlord to quarter himself upon them. This form of tenancy which the English used to denounce under the name of "coyne and livery" must have been obnoxious to the translator's circle or contemporaries, otherwise he would hardly have so translated.

Our text contains many military terms, and it is remarkable that they are all purely Irish and not borrowed from the Normans.³

I have always silently extended S. and Rol. to Serlus and Rolandus. The genitive of the latter is written once in full in

1. *San* may be French. We find in the *Fierebras* story the form "*Sin Dinis*" for Saint Denis. But *Sém* must be the English James. 2. "All slaves who were held bound under the evil customs of bad masters." 3. As for example the following: *Osadh a truce*, *ag coimét a ndeiridh guarding their rear*, *suidhe timchioll cathrach to besiege a city*, *do thinnlaic an chathair he surrendered the city*, *an chathair do chonnmhail to hold the city*, *cathair do ghabhail to take a city*, *múr doalaite an impregnable rampart*, *láthair an chatha the battlefield*, *bhi da chois he was on foot*, *fogair cath do* [also "ar"] *to challenge to battle*, *tosach the battle front*, "*acies*," *cloidhmedh to put to the sword*, *dibhracadh soiget shooting arrows*, *foslongport a camp*, *torann a charge* (?) *bratach G. brataighi a standard*, *corughadh catha* [or simply *corughadh*] *a division of an army*, *madhnaigh break through*, *rout*, *tucadar ucht ar a cheli they faced one another*, *do innsaigh he he attacked him*, *claitoир a victor*, *do thinoil a shlnagh he assembled his army*, *suaicentas ensign*, *do leith a ndroma in their rear*, *do dhoirt 'na cenn he burst upon them*, *sáidh pubull pitch a tent*, *do dhluthaigh* (?) *chuige he closed with him*, *inisider a herald or emissary*. It will be observed how very pure this language is, and that not one of these terms except the last is borrowed from a foreign speech.

the Book of Lismore, 'Rolanduis,' and following this example I have made the *us* of all proper names end in *uis* in the genitive except where they were written full and ended in *us* in the MSS. The word for "and" is not once written in full in the MSS. I have extended it to "ucus," but perhaps this gives the text a more antique appearance than it should bear.

I have allowed the place-names to stand for the most part as in the Irish, though this sometimes means giving Latin oblique cases for nominatives, as though one were to translate abhainn na Bóinne by the river "Boinne" in English. These place names have undergone the wildest variations: witness Runti Uallis or Rutinalis or Gleann Runisia or Remencia or glenn re n-abar Runcia or Ruinsia, for Roncesvalles, Uehyn for the Rhine (p. 107), the land of the Castles for Castile, etc.

Of the three full copies at my disposal the copy in the Book of Lismore was made by the most literate, and the Egerton copy by the most illiterate of the scribes. It is amusing to find the Mac in Macometus (Mahomet) and Macabeus treated once or twice as the Irish mac, and the genitive made Micametus and Mic Abeus. The Egerton scribe makes Jonathan weep over Absolom (p. 96), and writes Ogh ri Barsa for the Lismore Hoc ri Basan.

Various other points concerning the text and its contents I have discussed in the appendix.

Douglas de n-roe.

1. We meet even in English also very various forms of this name, Roncesvalles (the Spanish form), Ronceval Roncevaux, etc.

SAVÁLTAS SERVUS MÓR.



THE CONQUESTS OF
CHARLEMAGNE.

SABÁLTAS SERLUISS MÓIR.

Capitulum primum .i. ar ndul d'esbuluibh ocus do deiscipluibh *Crist* a rannuibh in domuin, mar innister, do chuaid in t-esbal glormhar¹ .i. San *Sem* ar tus isin *Gailinn* ocus do rindi senmora inniti. Ocus ar na chur cum baiss ag Iruat iarsin do ghoideadar a dheiscibail fein a chorp isin oighthi, ocus do chuiretar a luing he. Ocus do treoraiged iat 6'n aingel chum na *Gailinn* ocus do shiladur *briathra* Dé ar a fot. Ocus na dhiaigh sin do chuiretar lucht na *Gailinn* an creidium coir ar cul. Ocus do batar anaghaidh in *chreidmhe* cu haimsir Sherluis mhoir. Ocus iar bhfhaghail shaethair moir don tSerlus so a tiribh² imdha in domhain do ghabh moran dibh. Ocus asiat so iat,³ .i. Saxa ocus in *Fhraing* ocus in *Almain* ocus in *Bagine*⁴ ocus *Lochlan*⁴ ocus in *Burguin* ocus an Etaillé ocus in *Britaine* ocus moran do thirthaibh⁵ eli nach ainmnighthear annso⁶ gu n-imat *cathrach* o muir cu muir, ar na ndin⁷ o furtacht Dé mailli re láimh laidir do-claithi aigi fein do shaer iat o lamhuibh na *Seirristineach* ocus do chuir fa chuing na *Crisdaighi* iat. Ocus fuair se in meit sin do shaethar⁸ ar cur a allais amach, innus gur theilg se⁹ beith a cumsanad gan cathughadh do dhénamh as sin suas. Ocus a cedoир na dhiaigh sin do chonnaic se slighi retlainne¹⁰ isin firmamint ac tinnscaint o mhuiр *Frisie* ocus ac dul idir in *Almain* ocus in Etailli ocus idir in *Fraig* ocus in

1. Co ndechaidh in *timpis* glordha E. 2. Culaib E. & F. 3. a n-anmanna E. 4. in *Bagine* loclannda E. 5. riechtaib F. righechtaibh ocus do *flaithemnasaibh* ele E. 6. o hoin amach F. & E. 7. Ar na din o foirighthin Dia E. & F. 8. E adds "onus do doccumul," and reads "gur chuir." 9. cur smuain se beith na comnaidhe co sadhail gan, etc. E.

10. retlainne F.

THE CONQUESTS OF CHARLEMAGNE.

[*From the BOOK OF LISMORE AND OTHER VELLUM MSS.*]

FIRST CHAPTER.

WHEN the apostles and disciples of Christ had gone into the various divisions of the word, as we-are-told, the glorious apostle Saint James went first into Galicia and preached^a sermons in it. And when, after that, he was put to death by Herod his own disciples stole his body in the night and placed it on board a ship. And they were guided by the angel to Galicia and they sowed the words of God throughout it. But,^b after that, the people of Galicia drove out the true faith. And they were against the faith until the time of Charles the Great. And after this [King] Charles had endured^c much labour in many countries of the world, he took many of them. Here they are: Saxony^d and France and Germany and the Baigine [Bavaria ?] and Denmark and Burgundy and Italy and Bretagne and many other countries that are not named here with many cities from sea to sea,^e [and] being protected by the help of God together with a strong insuperable hand of his own he saved them from the hands of the Saracens and placed them under the yoke of the Christians. And he endured all that labour in the sweat of his brow^f so that he renounced [?] a life of rest [a life passed] without fighting, from that out.

And soon after that he beheld the path of a star in the firmament, beginning from the sea of Frisia and passing exactly between Germany and Italy and between France and Gascony, and between

^a *Lit.* "made." ^b *Lit.* "and." ^c *Lit.* "found." ^d *Angliam scilicet Galliam Theutonicam Baioarium Lothoringiam Burgundiam Italiam Britanniam ceterasque regiones.* ^e I translate as if "ar n-a dhín," Latin: "divinis subsidiis munitus." ^f *Lit.* "Putting out his sweat," but the Latin is different: "Gravi labore ac tanto sudore fatigatus ne amplius bellum iniret & ut requiem sibi daret proposuit," *Fr.*,

*Gascuine*¹ co direach ocus idir an nGascuin ocus Nauarra ocus in Spain co sin nGailinnsi² mar a raibi corp San Sem cu foluigtheach³ in uair sin. Ocus do cidh Serlus in tslighi remhraitti sin gach n-oighthi ocus do smuain co meinic cret fa ciall don ní sin. Ocus ar mbeith ar na smuaintightibh sin do,⁴ do faillsighedh do a cumsanad na hoighthi macam in oglaign co ngnuis ndeallraithig aga rádh ris “A mheic⁵ cret do ní.”? Do freguir Serlus hé ocus adubhairt:⁶ “A thigearna cia thu.”? “As misi,” ar sé “Semus Esbal, dalta Crist mac Sebedeus⁷ brathair Eoin suibhsgéal do chuir mu thighearna do shenmoir maille na grásaibh mora dona popluib ocus is me do mharbh Iruath do chlaidiumh ocus asé mu corp ata a cumsanad isin Ghailinnsi⁸ fo dhaeirsi ag na Seiris-dinibh. Ocus is ingnad lim cu mor nar saerais-si mo thir o nert na Seirrisdineach ocus gur ghabuis moran do cathrachaibh ocus do thirthaibh ele, ocus⁹ foillsighim-si duit mar tuc Dia nert ocus cumachta duit os cinn righ in talman. Is mar sin do thagh sé thu idir in uili dhuine do thabhairt coróine¹⁰ marthanaighi duit, innus cu soertha mu thír-si ocus mu thalamh o lamhaib na n-ain-Cristaidhi. Ocus in tslighi ad chonncais isin aier as comurtha sin cu ragha-sa¹¹ maille re sluaghaib móra do chathughadh ris na cineadhuibh padhanda ocus do shaeradh mu thíre ocus mo thalman ocus d'fisrughadh an inaidh ar cuireadh mu chorp ó imeal na crichi so gusin nGailinnsi, ocus ticedh¹² ad diaig an uili phobal chum oilitri o muir cu muir, isin inad sin d'fhaghail logaid¹³ an a phecadh o Dhia ocus ag innisin admolta in tighearna ocus na subalche¹⁴ ocus na mirbuiledh do rinne se o aimsir do betha-sa cu deredh in domain. Ocus ar an adhbhar sin mar as luaiithi fhétdas tussa ceimnidh¹⁵ mar adubhart-sa. Or biat-sa am fhurtachtaigh agat in gach uile inadh. Ocus ar son do shaethar ocus do ghuasachta¹⁶ gnoaighfet-sa¹⁷ coroin a flaithimhnuis neamhdha om thighearna duit, ocus biaidh h-ainm molta gus in lá deighenach.” Ocus mar sin do¹⁸ San Sem, ar na fhoillsiughad fein tri huairi¹⁹ do Sherlus.

1. gaine F. & E. 2. F. omits last twelve words. 3. a folach F.
 4. ar na faicsin do co minic F. 5. E. omits “a mheic.” 6. E reads, evidently wrongly, “do fregair in tighearna he ocus adubhairt ris ce thu fen.” 7. sipidei E. sabedeus F. 8. E. adds “noch ata fos,” F. merely “fos.” 9. E. adds “ar a son sin.” 10. na coroine, E. 11. Cc racair-se F. & E. 12. tiucfaid F. 13. loghaidh F. 14. subalta F. & E.
 15. ceimnidh F. & E. 16. The last three words and the first “ocus” inserted from E. 17. gnoideochadsa F. & E. 18. F. omits the “do.” 19. cuarta F. & E. The “fein” I insert from E.

Gascony and Navarre and Spain, on to Galicia,^a where the body of Saint James was hidden at that time. And Charles beholds that above-mentioned path [of the star] every night, and he often pondered as to what was the meaning of that thing. And as he was having these thoughts there was revealed to him in the peacefulness of the night a youthful warrior^b with a shining countenance who said to him, "My son, what doest thou"? Charles answered him and said, "Lord, who art thou"? "I," said he "am James the apostle, pupil^c of Christ, son of Zebedee, brother of John the Evangelist, whom my Lord sent to preach with great grace to the various peoples; and it is I whom Herod killed with a sword, and it is my body that is resting in Galicia in bondage at the hands of the Saracens. And I wonder greatly that thou hast not delivered my country from the power of the Saracens, seeing^d that thou hast taken many other cities and countries, and I reveal to thee how God hath given strength and power to thee above the kings of the earth. Even so has He chosen thee above all other-men to give thee an everlasting crown, so that thou mightest save my country and my land from the hands of the unbelievers.^e And the path which thou sawest in the air, that is a sign that thou shalt go with great hosts to fight with the Pagan peoples and to save my country and my land, and to visit the place where my body was buried, from the border of this country to Galicia; and let every people come after thee on pilgrimage from sea to sea, to that place, to get remission of their sin from God, and to tell the praises of the Lord and the virtues and the miracles which He performed [and shall perform] from the period of thine own life to the end of the world. And for that cause as speedily as ever thou shalt be able, proceed as I have said. For I shall be a helper to thee in every place. And on account of thy labours and thy peril I shall win thee a crown from my Lord in the heavenly kingdom, and thy name shall be praised till the last day." Thus far Saint James; having revealed himself three times to Charles.

^a "a mari Frisiae et tendentem inter Theutonicam et Ytaliam inter Galliam et Aquitoniam, rectissime transeuntem per Gasconiam Basclamque et Navarram et Hispaniam usque ad Galeciam." ^b "heros quidem." ^c "Alu[m]pnus." ^d *Lit.* "and." ^e Literally "unchristians," Latin Moabitarum.

Ar n-eistecht¹ briathar an esbail do 'n impir airmhech soin do chuir sloigh mora ar aein-shlighidh ocus do chuaidh isin Spáin do dhibirt na Paganach.

AN DARA SGEL ANN SO. [F.]

CAPITULUM SECUNDUM.²

In ched chathair cum a ndechaindh Serlus da gabhail i. Pampilonia ; ocus ase fedh do bhi na timchill tri mi ocus nír fhéth a gabháil or do batar múir do-claiti na timcheall. Is ann sin do rinne Serlus urnaighthi chum a dhia féin, ocus a dubhaint "A tighearna a Iosa³ Crist, o's ar son do chreidim thanag is na crichibh so do clai in chinidh Padhanta, tabhair do chumhachta dam-sa do clai na cathrach so, gu mba molad ocus anoir dot hainm⁴ hé." Ocus adubhaint aris, "a San Sem ma's fhir gur fhoillsighis tu fein dam tabhair nert ocus cumhachta dhamh do ghabhail na cathrach so." Ocus tainic do thoil Dé ocus do ghuigí⁵ San Sem cor thuitset muir na cathrach co huili. Ocus na Serrisdínigh do bi san cathair ler ail báisded⁶ do ghabhail cuca do báisded⁵ iat, ocus in drong leis nar ail, do urail Serlus a ndichennadh.

Ar cloisdin na mirbailí sin do umlaigetar⁷ na Seirristínigh iat fein do Serlus da gach taebh, ocus do beirtis tabhartais⁸ imdha do, innus gur chuir sé in talamh sin uili fo chis do fein. Ocus mar do connatar an cineadh Padhanda pobal na Gailinnse ar na n-eitiudh co maith ocus aighthi⁹ sochraide acu, on claechladh rechta sin, is anorach sidhcanda do ghabhdais cuca iat, ocus do leiceadar a cin[n] da¹⁰ n-armaibh. Ocus na dhiaigh sin do cuaidh Serlus cu Patrona¹¹ d'fisrugadh adlaicti San Sem, ocus

1. ar na cloisín sin do *Shearlus* i. espaloit do gelladh do E. F. turns the sentence differently but also has "o do gheallad an esbaloid do." 2. "in 2 sgel" E. 3. aysa F., aisa E. 4. do Dia F. dot ainm ocus dod miorbuilidh e E. 5. d'urnaighthi San Sem ocus do guidhi Serlus E., F. omits. 6. baistig F. 7. tucatar iad fen E. 8. Taisi imdha do legaibh loghmara ocus do rogha gacha seda mbuadha arcena E. 9. aithche E. 10. E. also reads "cin" F. is in this passage too faint to be sure of the reading. 11. Patron E.

As soon as that renowned emperor had harkened to the words of the apostle, he collected together great armies,^a and went into Spain to banish the Pagans.

SECOND CHAPTER.^b

THE first city which Charles went to take was Pampilonia.^c And the length of time that he encamped^d round about it was three months, and he could not take it for there were impregnable ramparts round it. Thereupon Charles made prayer to his own God and said, "O Lord Jesus Christ since it is for the sake of thy religion that I have come into these parts to overthrow the Pagan race, grant me thy power to overthrow this city so that it may be praise and honour to thy name." And again he said, "O Saint James, if it is true that thou didst reveal thyself to me, grant me strength and power to take this city." And it came to pass by the will of God and the prayer of Saint James, that the walls of the city fell utterly.^e And the Saracens who were in the city who were willing to accept baptism were baptized, and those who were not willing, Charles ordered them to be beheaded.

On hearing of that miracle the Saracens submitted themselves to Charles upon every side and they used to bring him many gifts, so that he placed all that land under tribute to himself. And as soon as the Pagan tribes saw the people of Galicia well clad and with joyous faces,^f from that change of law,^g they used to accept them [the Christians] honourably and peaceably and then put off the heads [?] of their weapons.^h And after that Charles went to Patronaⁱ to visit the burial-place of Saint James, and he thrust

^a coadunatis sibi exercitibus multis. The Irish is literally "put on one road," a common idiom in these texts. ^b Literally Story. Lismore MS. makes no division of the text into chapters. ^c i.e., Pampeluna.

^d Lit. "was." Latin sedit. ^e "funditus corruerunt." ^f "bene indutam et facie elegantem." ^g "Recht" is frequently used for "religion" as well as "law."

^h armis etiam rejectis. ⁱ "ad petronum," which Gaston Paris explains thus "Petronum vero illam petram vocabant cui ratis allegata fuerat quae Sancti Jacobi corpus Iriam advexerat, et ab hac voce sumpsit Iria Flavia nomen novum El Pedron, quod nunc paulo mutatum El Padron sonat." *De Pseudo Turpino.*

do shaidh a shleagh isin muir ocus *ruc* a buidi re Dia ocus re San Sem a dhul *conuigi* sin,¹ or nir fhet dul ann co sin. Ocus pobal na Gailinnsi do impo *cum* an creidimh padanta a ndiaigh shenmór *San Sem* ocus a deiscibal, ler ail² impod³ chum creidimh, do ghabhadar *baisdedh* cuca do laimh airdesbaic Roim i. Turpinus; ocus in drong leis nar ail,² do urail Serlus a claidhmedh.⁴

“ Tainic Serlus na dhiaigh sin ar fud na Spaine⁵ co huilidhe.

AN TREAS SGEL ANN SO [F.]⁵

Cuid d'anmannaibh na cathrach do ghabh Serlus isin Spain leicim thoram iat ar *deacracht* na n-anmann mbarbardha do radh. Do ghabh se drong dona cathrachaibh sin gan *cathughadh* ocus dro[ng] eli maille *cathughadh*. Do bhi cathair isin ccrich sin dar ainm Lucerna isin gleann uaine⁶ ocus nir eidir leis a *gabhair* no gu tainic fo *derek* ocus do shuid 'na bun ocus do bhi gu cenn *cethra* mis na timcheall. Ocus o nar fhet a *gabhair* maille *cathughadh* do rindi se urnaighthi dhichra co Dia ocus co San Sem ocus do thoiteadar muir na cathrach uatha fein, ocus ata si 'na fasach o sin anuas, ata sruth⁷ ar a lar a mbi⁸ moran d'iasgaib duba.

Moran do na cathrachaibh so do ghabh Serlus Mor do ghabhadar righa⁹ ele don Fraingc ocus impiredha⁹ don Almain iat roim Serlus ocus do impoideadar aris cum na h-irse Padanta. Asiat so na righa⁹ *Cristaighi* don *Frainc* do ghabh cuid¹⁰ don *Sbain* ar tus i. Clodonius ocus Clotarius¹¹ ocus Pipinus ocus Serlus ocus Marsellus¹² ocus Serlus Mael ocus Lobais. Gidheadh cena do chuir

1. *ruc conuigi* sin e E. 2. *b'ail* F. & E. 3. *impog* F. 4. *cloidmed* F. a *ndichennadh*. 5. “in 3 scel do cogadh na Spaine” E. 6. illegible in F.

7. *gne* *srotha* F. & E. 8. *in a faghtar* E. *fadhar* F. 9. *righthi*—*impisigh* E. 10. *in Spain* E. 11. *Clotonidus* ocus *Clotoridus* E. *Cloton* ocus *Clotorius* (?) F. 12. *Marsealus* ocus *Pipinus* E

his spear into the sea and gave thanks to God and to Saint James that he had gone so far, for he had been unable to go there until then.^a And the people of Galicia who had turned to the Pagan faith after the preaching of Saint James and his disciples and were willing [now] to turn to the [Christian] faith, they received baptism at the hand of the Archbishop of Rheims, Turpin, and those who were not willing, Charles ordered them to be put to the sword.

Charles passed through the whole of Spain after that.

THIRD CHAPTER.^b

SOME of the names of the cities which Charles took in Spain we pass by on account of the difficulty of pronouncing the barbarous names. He took some of those cities without fighting and some of them by fighting. There was a city in that land whose name was Lucerna in the Green Valley,^c and he could not take it until he came at last and encamped round about it and he was round about it till the end of four months. And since he could not take it with fighting he made earnest prayers to God and to Saint James, and the walls of the city fell of their own accord, and it has been a wilderness ever since. There is a stream running through its midst in the which there are many black fish.

Many of these cities which Charles the Great took, other kings of France and emperors of Germany had taken them before Charles, but they turned again to the Pagan faith. These are the Christian kings of France who first took part of Spain, Clodonius^d and Clotarius and Pipinus and Charles and Marcellus and Charles

^a dicens quia in antea ire non poterat. In the language of the Pseudo Turpin "in antea" seems always to mean "before, previously." But *Fr.* reads "qui tamen antea ire non poterat." ^b The Frankfurt edition has not got the chapter which is Castel's third chapter, "de nominibus civitatum Hispaniae." The Irish leaves out over one hundred names but gives the last quarter or so of the chapter. ^c "in valle viridi." ^d "Clodoveus namque primus rex Francorum christianus, Clotarius, Dagobertus, Pipinus, Karolus Martellus, Karolus Calvus, Lodovicus et Karolomagnus, partim Hispaniam acquisiverunt, partim dimiserunt." C.

in Serlus mor so in *Sbáin* co himlán fo chuing na *Cristaigi*.

Ac so na cathracha do mhallaigh¹ Serlus ar a mhéid do saethar ocus do guasacht fuair aga ngabhall, [agus do eascain San Sem iad E.] ocus ar son na h-eascaíne sin atait o shoin gan aitiughadh .i. Lucerna ocus Uentosa ocus Taparra ocus Adama.

AN .III. SGEL ANN SO. [F.]²

Ocus na dhiaigh sin do chuaidh Serlus ar fud na Spainne ocus na dee bodhra balbha ocus na hidbarta diablaidhí d'a n-adhraits na *Padanaigh* do scris iat co huilidhí *acht* amhain in dee dar ainm Macametus do bhi a *talmhain* Auladaluph³ re n-abarthai Salarcadis.⁴ As inann⁵ Cadis re radh isin tengaid Araipig ocus deos tre Ladin.⁶ Ocus aithrisid na Seirrisdínigh in tan do bhi in Macametus so na bethaid *co nderna* se obair ro-dhaingen do fein a n-imeal na mara maille diablaideacht ro-mhoir, ocus aderuit cu roibhe in meit sin do nirt isin Dee sin indus nar bh'eidir le nech san doman a briseadh na didbáil do dhenamh di.⁷ Ocus in uair do thicedh *Crisdaighi* a comhfhocas⁸ do, ni ro imthighedh⁹ se gan bas no gan guasacht mhor d'fághail on dee sin. Ocus in tan do thicedh Seirrisdíneach da adhrad *no* da guighi do imthighedh¹⁰ imshlán uadha. Ocus in tan do toirrlengad¹¹ en ar an ndee sin do gheibheda bás a céadoir. Ocus is amlaidh ata in dee sin a n-imeal in mara ar na oibriugad cu ro-maith d'obair phaganda, ar na shuidhiugadh ar an *talmhain*. Ocus as amhlaidh atá sí *lethan* cetharuilleach this, ocus cumang¹² ro-árd thus innus co mad deacair d'fhiach *no*¹³ d'en arrachta ele dul a comh-ard ria a n-aer. Ocus ata imaigní¹⁴ in dee sin ar na denam dh'or roghlan, ocus si¹⁵ ar na suidhiugadh a n-uachtar na hoibre sin, a bhfighair dhuine, ocus si¹⁵ na sesamh ar a cosaibh co direach, ocus a h-aghaidh

1. do marb F. & E. 2. In 4 sgéil do cogadh na Spaine, dou Dee rc n-abar Macametus E. F. also has the last five words. 3. Auladalap E. F. omits.

4. Salann cadiss E. & F. 5. Thus E. and F. Lismore text has "onus arrian." 6. ocus dia tre Gaedhailg E. 7. E. and F. omit last five words

8. comgairí F. & E. 9. ternagħedh E. 10. imidhi F. imgidh E.

11. thus E. F. omits fourteen words here. *Lis.* has "turadh" with a stroke over the r. 12. co cumang E. & F. 13. naden E. 14. ymaigh F.

imaigh na dee sin E. 15. hi E. & F.

the Bald and Lobais. However this Charles the Great put Spain in its entirety under the yoke of the Christians.

Here are the cities which Charles cursed on account of the amount of labour and of peril he endured^a in the taking of them [and St. James cursed them] ; and on account of that malediction they are ever since uninhabited, namely Lucerna^b and Ventosa and Taparra and Adama.

FOURTH CHAPTER.

AND after that Charles went throughout Spain, and the deaf and dumb Gods and the devilish offerings which the Pagans used to adore, he destroyed them utterly except only the god whose name was Macametus [*i.e.* Mahomet] which was in the land of Guadaloupe^c which used to be called Salacadis. Cadis in the Arabian tongue is the same as to say Deos in Latin. And the Saracens relate that when this Macametus was alive he made a very firm structure for himself on the brink of the sea, by very great deviltry, and they say that there was so much strength in that god that nobody in the world could break it or do it harm. And whensoever a Christian used to come near him he might not escape without death or without enduring great peril from that god. And whenever a Saracen used to come to worship him or to pray to him, he used to go safe and sound from him. And whenever a bird would descend on that god it used to die instantly. And this is how that god is, on the border of the sea, wrought exceeding well of Pagan workmanship, [and] set upon the ground. And this is the way of it, broad and four-square below, and narrow and very high overhead, so that it would be difficult for a raven or other powerful bird to go so high as it in the air. And the image of that god is made of very pure gold and the image is set upon the top of the structure, in the figure of a man, and is standing straight upon its feet, and its face towards the mid day, and

^a *Lit.* "found." ^b "Lucerna ventosa, Cappara, Adamia," C., but Ventosa is probably a separate town as the Irish makes it, not an adjective. ^c "in terra Alandaluf quod vocatur Salam Cadis. Cadis dicitur locus proprie in quo est; Salam in lingua Arabica Deus dicitur. C. Cadis dicitur proprie locus in quo est Isalam, in lingua arabica Deus dicitur. Fr.

ar in medon lai,¹ ocus eocair aice aga connmail na laimh dheis, agus lase adbar na h-eocrach sin do réir na Seirrisdineach, an uair do thuitfedh an eochair sin cu tifcadh rí dona Frangccachaibh do gebhudh in Spain co h-imlan an bliadain sin, ocus do cuirfedh hi fo chuing ocus fo iris na Cristaighi. Ocus mar aireochait² na Seirrisdinigh in eochair sin do thuitim al-laim in dee sin, teithfit ocus facbait an tír.

Ocus ar gclai na Seirrisdineach do Sherlus ocus ar cur na Spaine fa chuing na Cristaighi do thidhlaicedar righa ocus prinnsadha³ na Sbáine or ocus aircet cu do-airmhe dhó. Ocus do bhi se tri bliadhna 'na chomhnaidhe isin Sbáin, ocus do rinne se tempall ro-anorach les in or sin, ocus leis in n-aircet, a n-anoir San Sem, ocus ase ord do chuir se isin tempall sin ord cananach do reir uird ocus riagla⁴ esbuig naemtha .i. Isidurus, ocus do mhedaigh se hi cu mor do clochaib⁵ ocus do leabhraibh⁵ ocus do bratuibh, maille moran do neithibh *deadh-mhaiseacha* ele, nach urusa d'airimh.⁶

Ocus a haithli na h-oibri-sin do chrichnughadh do Sherlus, in fuigheall⁷ do bhi aigi don innmhus do-airmhe fuair o na Seirrisdineachaibh do chumdaigh se imat reilg⁸ leis, ocus as iat so a n-anmanna⁹ .i. Tempall Anacis Granis a n-anoir Muire Bain-tighearna,¹⁰ ocus tempall a n-anoir San Sem isin cathair re n-abar Uiterinis Sensium¹¹ ocus tempall eile do San Sem isin cathair re n-abar Tolusum¹² ocus eclas San Sem isin cathair ren-abar Pairis ata idir an inadh re n-abar Secanum ocus sliabh na Mairtireach ; ocus aibdhineachta do-airmhe do rinni se ar fud in domhain o sin amach.

Ar n-impodh¹³ do Sherlus isin Fhrainge do chuaidh ri Padhanda Athfraceach dar ainm Agiolandus mailli re sluaghaibh do-airmhe annsa Sbáin tar eis¹⁴ Serluis moir ocus do ghabh i co himlán ar

1. ar in grein a medhon lae F. & E. 2. cidfid E. 3. righthi na Spaine E.
 4. uird riagulta F. 5. leagaibh E. 6. d'innisin F. & E. 7. fuighill F. & E. 8. eglasa imdha E. egalsa imda F. 9. anmanna E. & F. anmunaibh *Lis*. 10. F. omits this word.
 11. Buter nicencium F. putir insensium E. 12. Talosum E. Tolosum F.
 13. ninntogh F. & E. 14. deis E. & F.

a key held by it in its right hand, and the cause of that key [is this], according to the Saracens, [who say that] whenever that key should fall, there would come a king of the Franks who would take Spain completely in that year, and place it under the yoke and the faith of the Christians. And whenever the Saracens shall hear that that key has fallen from the hand of that god they will fly and leave the country.

And^a on Charles's overcoming the Saracens and placing Spain under the yoke of the Christians, the kings and princes of Spain gave him innumerable presents of gold and silver. And he was abiding in Spain for three years, and he built a very noble^b temple with that gold and silver in honour of St. James. And the Order which he placed in that temple was the Order of Canons according to the Order and Rule of the holy bishop Isidore, and he increased it greatly with [precious] stones and books^c and vestments, together with many other fair things not easy to enumerate.

And after Charles finishing that work, the remainder that he had of the innumerable treasures which he got from the Saracens, he built many churches^d with it, and here are their names, the Church of Anacis Granis [*i.e.* Aix-la-chapelle^e] in the honour of Mary [our] lady, and a church in honour of Saint James in the city which is called Uiterinis Sensium, and another church to Saint James in the city which is called Tolusum^f [Toulouse], and a church of Saint James in a city which is called Paris which is between the place which is called Secanum and the Martyrs Mount.^g And abbotships innumerable did he make throughout the world from that out.

And,^h on Charles returning into France, an African Pagan king whose name was Agiolandusⁱ went with innumerable hosts into Spain after Charles the Great, and took it completely, having

^a The 5th chapter begins here in the Latin texts. ^b *Lit.* "honourable."

^c The Franciscan text reads "bells and gems." The Latin has "eamque tintinnabulis palliisque libris ceterisque ornamentis decenter ornavit."

^d In this text "roilig" sometimes translates "ecclesia." ^e "quae est apud Aquisgranum." ^f "ecclesiam Sancti Jacobi quae est apud urbem Buerrensum apud Tolosam, C. *Fr.* omits "urbem Buerrensum." ^g Apud urbem Parisios enter Sequanam fluvium et montem Martyrum, *i.e.* the Seine and Montmartre?

^h The 6th chapter in both the Latin texts begins here.
ⁱ "Aigolandus" in the Latin texts.

n-innarbadh ocus ar marbadh na Cristaighi do na cathrachaibh ocus do na fearannuibh ar shacoib Serlus iat aga coimet.¹ Ocus ar na cloisdin sin do Sherlus do impa² tar ais isin Sbain aris maille na shluagh fein,³ ocus do rinne comnaidhi isin chathair re n-abar Bagionum.⁴ Ocus do gallraigheadh ridiri uasal do mhuintir Sherluis dar ainm Romaruicus.⁵ Ocus a n-aimsir a bhais do ghabh se faisidin ocus aithreachas ocus corp Crist. Ocus a-dubhairt re brathair do bhi 'na fhochair a each do reic ocus a luach⁶ do thabhairt do cleirchibh ocus do bochtaibh do raith⁷ a anma. Ocus ar tesdadh⁸ don ridiri sin do ghabh sainnt brathair an ridiri ocus do rec⁹ an t-each ar *cet scillin* do fein ocus do chaith sin re biadh ocus re digh ocus re h-edach. Ocus is gar dona droch-ghnimhuibh¹⁰ dighultas De¹¹ co minic. A cinn *deich la fiche* na dhiaigh sin don nech sin do rec an t-ech do foillsigid dó in ridiri thra aghuidh¹² ann, ocus ised adubhairt ris "tre mar tucus-sa mh' airneis duit da tabhairt mar déirc d'fuascaladh mh'anma, bidh¹³ a this agat gur mhaith Dia mo phecadh dhamh-sa, ocus o dho chonnmhais-si co hecoir mu dheirc acud, tuic gur chonnmhuis mhisí XXX la a pein, ocus bidh a this agat ar a shon sin cu racair fein amarach a n-ithfren ocus co rac¹⁴-sa a Parthus. Ocus do imthig in nech marbh a haithli in comraidh sin ocus do ghabh egra mor in nech beo ocus nir coduil¹⁵ gu tainic in la ocus do indis se sin ar na mharach. Ocus ar rochtuin in sceoil sin fo na sluagháib do chualatar gotha adhuachmara isin aier os a cinn mar ghothaibh leoman *no* mactire *no* ainmilted mbruidighi¹⁶ ele. Ocus nir chian na dhiaigh sin gur thogbhatar na diabail in nech slan beo sin al-lar na sluagh amach ann san fhirmamint suas. Ocus o do connatar na sluaigh sin do chuireadar coisighe ocus marcsluagh d'iarraidh in fir sin a ngleannuibh ocus a cnocaibh ocus ni fhuaratar he. Ocus a cinn da lá dhec na dhiaigh sin do bhatar na sluaigh sin Serluis ac siubhal in fhasaigh re n-abar Nauarrorum ocus

1. innti E. a coiméid in talmhan F. 2. innto E. inntogh F. 3. Maille na shluagháibh mora cedna E. 4. Bagionam F. 5. Ruairicus F. Ruaidhhricus E. 6. luagh F. 7. ar gràdh F. & E. 8. testail F. & E. 9. reac F. & E. 10. gnimarta E. 11. Dia F. & E. 12. adci F. do techt cuigi ann E. 13. bith F. & E. 14. rachsa F. racsa E. 15. codlaigh F. 16. ainminnti mbruidemel F. Ainminntibh bruidemail E.

slain or driven out^a the Christians from the cities and from the lands where Charles had left them in charge. And, when Charles heard that, he returned back again into Spain with his own army, and he rested in the city which is called Bayonne.^b And^c a noble knight of Charles's people took ill, whose name was Romaruicus.^d And at the time of his death he made confession and repentance and [took] the body of Christ. And he desired a brother that he had with him to sell his steed, and to give the price of it to clerics and poor people for the grace of his soul. But when this knight died, covetousness took possession of the knight's brother, and he sold the steed for one hundred shillings for himself, and he spent that on food and drink and clothes. But often the vengeance of God follows close on^e evil deeds. To him who had sold the steed, at the end of thirty days after that, the knight [who had died] was revealed in the night time, and this is how he spake to him : "because I gave my equipment to thee to give it as alms to release my soul, be it known to thee that God has forgiven me my sin. And since thou hast unjustly kept back my alms to thyself, understand that thou hast kept me thirty days in pain, and be it known to thee that for that reason thou thyself shalt go to-morrow into hell, and that I shall go into Paradise." And the dead man departed after that discourse. And great fear seized the living man, and he slept not until day came. And he told that [story] on the morrow. And after that story had reached the army they heard dreadful voices in the air over their heads, as it were the voices of lions or wolves or other brute animals. And it was not long after that until the devils lifted that sound man, alive, out of the midst of the hosts, up into the firmament. And, when the army saw that, they sent foot soldiers and horse soldiers to look for that man, in valleys and on hills, and they found him not. And, at the end of twelve days after that, those hosts of Charles were marching through the wilderness which is

^a *Lit.* "driven out and slain." ^b The last ten words are in neither of the Latin texts which read instead "et erat cum eo dux exercitum Milo de Angleris." ^c The 7th chapter of the Latin texts begins here.

^d "Romaricus" C. & Fr. ^e *Lit.* "is close to," "malis factis divini iudicis vindicta proxima esse solet."

fuaratar corp in fir¹ sin gan anmuin ocus se ar na coimbrised, ocus ase inadh a raibhi in corp sin a mbarr ailli mara, ocus asi airdi² a roibi in benn sin os cinn in mara tri lege,³ ocus ase fad do bi an t-inad sin o'n cathair adubhramar uidhi .III. la ; ocus do b'iat an diabail do chuir in corp sin ann sin, ocus ruc a anum a n-iffrenn. Ar a shon sin bidh⁴ a fhis aguibh gach aen aga fhuicfe duine marbh deirc do denamh ar a anmain, muna tuca⁵ an deirc sin uadha co bhfhuil se fein damnaighthe.⁶

AN V SGEL ANN SO [F.]

Ocus na diaigh sin do gluais Serlus mor ocus Meiler⁷ maille na shuaghaib ar fut na Spaine d'iaraid in righ Phadhanda sin do gabh in Sbáin da n-eis ocus ase inadh a bhfuaradar he isin *talam* re n-abar De⁸ Campis ocus ar an sruth re n-abar Tegia ocus a muighibh ocus a n-inadaib reidhi in a nderna Serlus na dhiaigh sin *tempall* anorach a n-ainm na mairtireach uasal .i. Facundi ocus Primitui⁹ ocus atait a cuirp osin anuas a cumhsanad san inad *sin*.

Ocus ar ndul do Sherlus cona shluaghuibh a bhfogus don inad a raibhi Agiolandus do fhuacair se¹⁰ cath ar Serlus, fa thoil Serluis¹¹ .i. XX anaghaidh XX^{et}, no da XX^{it} anaghaidh da XX^{it}, no cét anaghaidh cét no mili anaghaidh mili no dias inaghaidh dheisi, no duine anaghaidh duini. Ocus ar na cluinsin¹² sin do Sherlus do cuir se cét ridiri cristaighi uadha inaghaidh cét ridiri paganta, ocus do marbhadh na paganaigh co h-uilidhi.

Do chuir Agiolandus cét ele uaidh ocus do marbhadh iat mar in cétna. Do cuir dhá chét anaghaidh dhá chét ocus do marbhadh na Paganaigh. Do cuir iaram da mhíle anaghaidh da mhíle ocus

1. oglaign F. & E. 2. Thus F. & E. *Lis.* has "airm." 3. legha F. lega E. 4. bith F. bi E. 5. tugad F. E. reads "tuair," turning the sentence into the 2nd pers. sing. and reading "aen duine" for "gach aen."

6. damuinti ar a son F. damanta ar a son co brach ocus iar mbach E. 7. F. & E. omit "Meiler." 8. F. omits the De. E. & H. read "decampis."

9. Facumeni ocus Primitui F. Faccunni ocus Primitia E. & H. 10. an paganach sin F. & E. & H. 11. tSerluis F. 12. cluisdin F. cloistin E.

called Navarre,^a and they came upon the body of that man without life and it all broken. And the place where that body lay^b was on the top of a cliff by the sea. And the place where that peak was, was above the sea three leagues. And the distance that that place was from the city which we have mentioned was a journey of four days. And it was the devils who placed that body there and brought his soul to hell. For that reason be it known to you that each one to whom a dead man shall leave [goods] to give [as] alms for his soul, unless he give that alms he is himself damned.

FIFTH CHAPTER.^c

AND, after that, Charles the Great and Meiler marched with their armies throughout Spain to seek that Pagan king who had occupied Spain after them, and the place where they found him was in the land which is called De Campis, and by the stream which is called Tegia,^d and in plains and smooth places in which Charles afterwards built an honourable church in the name of the noble martyrs Facundus and Primitius,^e and their bodies are ever since at rest in that place.

And on Charles with his armies coming near to the place where Agiolandus was, he challenged Charles to battle,^f [with], as Charles might choose,^g twenty men against twenty, or forty against forty, or a hundred against a hundred, or a thousand against a thousand, or two against two, or man against man. And, when Charles heard that, he sent forth a hundred Christian knights against a hundred Pagan knights, and the Pagans were all slain.

Agiolandus sent forth another hundred, and they were slain in like manner. He sent two hundred against two hundred and the Pagans were [again] slain. He sent after that two thousand

^a "per deserta telluris Navarrorum et Alavarum [Laruarum *Fr.*] peragrasset"

^b *Lit.* "was." ^c 8th chapter in the Latin. ^d *Ceia C. Cera Fr.* ^e "Primitivus" in the Latin texts. ^f *Lit.* "proclaimed battle on Charles." *Lat.* "mandavit Karolo bellum." ^g *Lit.* "at Charles's will," "secundum velle suum."

do marbhadh mar an cétna iat d'urmor¹ ocus do theith in chuid nar marbhadh dhibh. In treas la na dhiaigh sin do connaic Agiolandus mar do tuiteadar a mhuindter, ocus do rinne se crann-char piseogach ocus da reir sin do aithin se da tugad cath imlán do Serlus cona muinntir gu ndingnadh dith² mhor doibh; ocus ar a shon sin do chuir tecta d'fogra catha imlain ar Serlus cona muinntir ar na mharach. Ocus do chetuigh Serlus in cath do thabhairt. Ocus in aghaidh roim in cath do bhi Serlus cona muinntir a foslongport laim ris in sruth³ remraiti ocus do shaidhetar cuid da muinntir a ngaithi is na muighibh⁴ i rabhatar na comnuidhi ocus ar n-eirghi doibh ar na mharach fuaradar a ngaithi lan do croicenn ocus do blath dedhmhaiseach orro. Ocus ba hiat lucht na ngaethe sin do mairtiredh a tus in catha ar na mharach ar son creidmhe Crist. Ocus ní is mo ina mar as eidir a indisi do bhatar na sluaigh sin ag⁵ ingantas ar met na mirbail sin do roine Dia. Ocus do gerradh⁶ na gaithi sin comhard⁷ re talmhain ocus do fhasatar croinn mhora a premhaibh na ngaithi sin gur bho pháirc mor,⁸ ocus atait o sin isin inad sin gan losgad gan mhilledh. Ocus a ngne fhuinnseog atait,⁹ ocus in 1^{et} ingantach so gidh do bhi se na dhidbail do na corpuibh do bo mhor a ghairdiughadh¹⁰ dona h-anmannaibh. Ocus do cuired in cath gu cruaidh ocus co calma in la sin, idir na sluaghaib. Ocus do martrad Milo .i. athair Rolannduis isin cath sin faris in ndroing agar fhas blath ar a ngaeithibh. Ocus do thuitset da /hicit míle do na Cristaighibh in la sin leis na Padhanchaibh. Ocus do marbhadh éch Serlus móir fein¹¹ isin cath sin, ocus do bhi Serlus da chois ocus da mhile¹² dona Cristaighibh faris. Ocus do nocth Serlus a claidheamh ann sin dar ainm Gaudiosa¹³ ocus do ling ar lar na

1. anurmor F. & E. & H. 2. digbail F. & H. dibhail E. 3. re taeb an srotha sin H. 4. is na hinadaib H. 5. aga F. E. reads "ag inugantas med." H. "acindisin." 6. gearradar sit F. do gearradar siat. E. H. rightly omits "siat." 7. gonaird re F. 8. mar do bheith pairc mor F. E. omits this. 9. ocus a ngne ocus andath a cosmailius fuinnseoc E. fuindsind H. 10. E. adds "onus in subalta." "an tarba" H. 11. "moir fein" omitted in *Lis*. 12. da .XX. m. H. & E. 13. E. omits last eleven words, and after "do ling" adds "le buile catha." which H. has also.

against two thousand and they were likewise slain—the greater part of them—and those who were not slain fled. The third day, after that, Agiolandus saw how his people had fallen, and he made divination^a with spells, and according to it he knew that if he were to give full battle to Charles and his people he would do them great damage. And for that reason he sent messengers to challenge Charles and his people to a full battle^b on the morrow. And Charles consented to give battle. And the night before the battle Charles with his people was in camp beside the aforementioned stream, and some of his people stuck their spears in the plain^c where they were stationed, and when they arose in the morning they found their spears covered with^d bark and fair blossoms on them. And it was the owners of those spears who were martyred at the outset of the battle on the morrow, for the sake of Christ's religion. And the hosts were wondering more than it is possible to tell at the greatness of the miracles which God performed. And those spears were cut on a level with the ground, and there grew great trees from the roots of those spears, so that it was a great field [of trees],^e and they are ever since in that place without burning or destruction. And of the nature of ash they are. And this wondrous thing, although it was a hurt to their^f bodies, it was a great rejoicing to their^f souls. And the battle was fought hardily and valiantly that day between the armies. And Milo, that was Roland's father, was martyred in that battle, along with the band upon whose spears blossoms had grown. And there fell forty thousand of the Christians on that day at the hands of the Paynims. And Charles's steed was killed in that battle, and Charles was on foot, and two thousand of the Christians along with him. And Charles bared his sword then, whose name was Gaudiosa,^g and he sprang into the middle of

^a Literally “a charmed casting of lots,” “ejicit sortes secrete.” This shows an early use of the word ‘piscög,’ very common now in the sense of charm or spell or superstitious rite. ^b Lit. “proclaimed a complete battle on,” “pugnam plenariam.” ^c Lit. “plains,” “in pratis.” ^d Lit. “full of.” ^e or “a great park.” ^f Lit. “the,” “magnumque animabus proficuum, ingensque corporibus detrimentum.” ^g “evaginavit spatam suam nomine Gaudiosam, et trucidavit multos Saracenos per medium.”

Seirrisdíneach ocus do gherradh in *Seirrisdíneach* ar dhó,¹ ocus do rindi se didhbháil mhor doibh amlaíd sin.² Ocus ar tect don esbertain da n-innsaigid do chuaid gach *sluagh* dhibh d'a arus fein.³

Tancatar umorro cethrar do thighearnuibh mora a himeal na hEtailli do chabhair do Sherlus maille cethra míle do shluaghaib armtha eidighthe. Ocus mar do chuala Agiolandus in *sluagh* sin do thecht do chabhair do Sherlus do elo⁴ roime as in crích sin, ocus chuaidh a ccrích Legionensibus. Ocus do chuaidh Serlus cona shluagh isin *Frainge* da eisi sin.

Ocus as intuiathi as na comharthaibh sin in drong do thuit isin cath sin gu fuaradar slainti anma. Ocus mar do ullmhaighedar ridiredha Serluis a n-airm⁵ cum cathaighthe as mar sin as dligid duinne air n-airm fein d' ullmhughad chum cathaighthi .i. subhalcháit⁶ maithi do cur anaghaidh na locht.⁷ Ocus gach nech ler bh'ail in cathughad so do denumh bidh creidium daingen aige anaghaidh na heiriticeachta⁸ ocus grádh anaghaidh in fhuatha ocus tabhartas⁹ anaghaidh na sainnti ocus umla¹⁰ in aghaidh in dimais¹¹ ocus genmnaideacht anaghaidh na druisi ocus urnaighthi dicra anaghaidh aibersorachta in diabail ocus silens anaghaidh na fergi ocus umhla anaghaidh leisce in cuirp.¹² Ocus gibe do ghena na nethi so biaidh blath *deadhmhaiseach*¹³ a lo in bhreit-imnus air. Or is conaigh toirthech anum claidhthe na pecadh¹⁴ ocus budh¹⁵ mor a bláth a *flaitheamhnus* De¹⁶ ar chathughadh a talmain anaghaidh na pecadh. Ocus mar fuaradar muinnter Serluis bas ar son creidimh Crist is mar sin dlighmit-ne bas do thabhairt d'ar lochtuibh ocus beith marthanach an ar subhalchaibh,¹⁷ innus co bfaghmais coroin blathmhar a *flaitheas* De do buaidh ar cathaighthi.

1. ar a do F. & E. 2. E. adds *noch is dotuaraschbala re innsin*. 3. E. omits last fifteen words. 4. do *elód* H. do *elogh* se gan fis E. 5. iat fein cona narmaibh F. 6. subaltaí F. H. is illegible. 7. an ancreidim H. na nanc—ocus na *heirisí* p.a. E. 8. aincreidim E. 9. barantas F. & H. baran̄tas E. 10. umhlacht E. & F. 11. uabhair E. & F. & H. 12. na colla E & H. F. omits. 13. E. & F. add “ar a gha.” 14. F. has “as conaид tortach anam cluicin (sic) na *pecadh*.” 15. “umor” F. 16. E. & E. *Neamhdha*. 17. sic *Lis.* & H. F. & E. subaltaibh.

the Saracens and he used to cut the Saracen [whom he would smite] in two, and he caused them a great loss in that wise. And when evening time approached^a each army of them went to its own camp for that night.

There came moreover four great lords^b from the confines of Italy to help Charles with four thousand troops in arms and armour. And when Agiolandus heard of that host's coming to help Charles, he stole away out of that district, and went into the district Legionenses.^c And Charles with his army went into France after that.

And it is to be understood from those signs that the band who fell in that battle found health of soul [*i.e.* salvation]. And as Charles's knights prepared their weapons to fight, in such wise ought we to prepare our own arms to fight, namely good virtues to set against faults. And every person who desires to make this fight let him have a firm faith to oppose to heresy, and love to oppose to^d hatred, and giving to oppose to covetousness, and humility to oppose to pride, and chastity to uncleanness, and fervent prayer to the opposition of the devil, and silence to anger, and humility to sloth [*sic*] of body. And whoever shall do these things there shall be a fair blossom upon him in the day of judgment. For it is fruitful wealth for a soul to overthrow sin, [?] and great shall its blossom be in the heaven of God for warring on earth against sins. And as Charles's people died for the religion of Christ, so ought we to inflict death upon our faults, and become everlasting in our virtues, so that we may gain a blossoming crown in the heaven of God through the victory of our battling.

^a “die advesperascente” C., “advesperante” Fr. ^b “Marquisii.” ^c “in Legionibus oris secessit” C., “in Legionenses oras secessit” Fr. ^d The Latin is a little more diffuse; “quisquis enim vel fidem contra haereticam pravitatem, vel caritatem contra odium, vel largitatem contra avariciam, vel humiliatem contra superbiam, vel castitatem contra libidinem, vel orationem assiduam contra demoniacam tentationem, vel perseverantiam contra instabilitatem, vel silentium contra iurgia, vel obedientiam contra carnalem animum ponit, hasta ejus florida et victrix in die iudicii Dei erit” C. Fr. differs slightly.

AN SEISIUGADH SGEL ANN SO. F.¹

Ocus na dhiaigh sin do thinoil Agiolandus cinedha imdha .i. Seirrisdíneacha ocus Mauri ocus Moabite² ocus fir gorma ocus Parti ocus Africani ocus Parce³ ocus ri na hAraibi ocus ri Alaxandria ocus ri Bugie ocus ri Agabia ocus ri Barbarie⁴ ocus ri Cornubie ocus righa⁵ imdha o sin amach.

Tainic Agiolandus mailleis na righuibh sin cona sluaghuibh cum na cathrach darub ainm Agiam ocus do ghabh hi. Ocus na dhiaigh sin do fhogair se do Sherlus techt co sidhchanda maille began do mhaithibh a ridireadh da innsaigid, ocus do gheall co tibhreadh⁶ or ocus aircet [ocus sed mbuaibh. E. & H.] do cu mor do chinn creidmhe dho fein ocus d'a dhéibh. Ocus is e adbar fá dubhaint se sin cu mbeith aithne⁷ Serluis aigi, chum a mharbhtha isin céd cath aris. Ocus ar na tuicsin sin do Sherlus do cuaidh maille da mhilli do shluagh ro arrachta uidi cethra mille⁸ on n-inad a raibhi Agiolandus, ocus do fhacuib⁹ iat a bhfalach¹⁰ ann sin, ocus do chuaidh fein maille re tri ficheit ridiri [do maithibh a muinntire, E. & H.] cus in¹¹ sliabh do bhi laimh ris in cathair in a roibhi Agiolandus innus co facatar in cathair uatha. Facbas Serlus a muinnter ann sin, ocus do claechlo na hedighi uaisle¹² do bhi uime, ocus do chuaidh gan gai gan arm ele acht¹³ a sciath tarrsna ar a dhruim, mar¹⁴ is gnath ag na misidearuibh a n-aimsir catha, ocus aen ridiri [amain F.] na fharrad. Ocus do chuadar cum na cathrach [mar a roibhe an paganach .i. Agiolandus E.] ocus mar rancatar in chathair tarla cuidechta dhoibh ocus do fhiafraighetar scela¹⁵ dibh. "Misideir sinn," ar siat, "ar n-ar cur o Sherlus Mhor cum bhar righi-si, cum Agiolanduis. Ocus ar na cluinsin sin do muinntir Agiolanduis [do gabh luathghaire mor iat ocus E. & H.] rucadur leo iat isin cathair mar a roibhi Agiolandus. Ocus adubratar na misideir, "Serlus¹⁶ do chuir sinne chugat-sa da inisín¹⁷ duit cu

1. E. reads "in 6 sgéil do cogad na Spáine. H. An si sc. 2. Mabeti F. Mabite E. 3. F. omits from Parce to Cornubie. 4. barbardha E. 5. moran do cineduibh ad.h.mara, o hoin amach F. E. reads ri Cornabia ocus moran do rightibh eile. 6. tiubhradh F., H. & E. 7. iul E. & H. 8. Mile E. & F. & H. 9. fag E. & F. 10. F., H. & E. have folach. 11. F. always reads "conuig in" for "cusin." conuige E. conuici H. 12. do athraigh na hedigh ro maithe onoracha E. 13. ocus E. & F. 14. mar paganach ag na m. E. mar fa gnath ac na misiderachaibh H. 15. cad do b'ail leo E. & H. 16. Serlus fein E. & H. 17. foillsighadh E. & F.

SIXTH CHAPTER.

AND, after that, Agiolandus gathered many tribes, Saracens and Moors and Moabites and Negroes^a and Parthians and Africans and Parce,^b and the king of Arabia and the king of Alexandria, and the king of Bugia and the king of Agabia and the king of Barbary and the king of Cornubia, and many other kings as well.^c

Agiolandus came with those kings together with their hosts to the city which is called Agiam^d and took it. And after that he sent a proclamation to Charles bidding him come peaceably to him with a few chiefs of his knights, and he promised that he would give him gold and silver and precious gems in plenty if he would believe in himself and his gods. And the reason he said that was that he might be able to recognize Charles, and so slay him in the next battle. And, as soon as Charles understood that, he went with two thousand of his host, very valiant ones, a journey to within four miles of the place where Agiolandus was, and left them in hiding there, and he himself went with three score knights of the princes of his people to the mountain which was beside the city in which was Agiolandus, so that they saw the city in the distance.^e Charles left his people there, and he changed the nobleman's clothes that were on him, and he went without a spear or other weapon except his shield across his back, as is the custom of ambassadors in time of battle, and only one knight with him, and they went to the city where the pagan, Agiolandus, was. And so soon as they reached the city a company met them and asked tidings of them, "We are ambassadors,"^f say they, "who are sent from Charles the Great to your king, to Agiolandus. And so soon as the people of Agiolandus heard that, they rejoiced much, and they brought them with them into the city where Agiolandus was. And the ambassadors said, "It is Charles who has sent us to thee to tell thee that Charles has come with three

^a *Lit.* "blue men" as the Irish called blacks. *Aethiopes*, *Lat.* ^b Persas, *aliter* Pierses. ^c *Lit.* from that out. ^d *Agenni C. Agomam Fr.* The Latin texts mention other kings and countries which the Irish texts omit.

^e *Lit.* "from them." ^f *Nuncii.*

tainic Serlus maille tri ficht fer mar adubartais¹ ris, ocus do b'ail leis bheith na oglach acat-sa,² da comailli³ tu gach ni do gheallais⁴ do, ocus [ar an adbar sin F. & E.] eirigh-se, in mhéid sin do mhaithibh do mhuindtiri, na choinne, ocus labhair ris co sidh-chanta.⁵ Ocus [ahaithle in comraid sin do denam doibh E. & H.] adubhairt Agiolandus riu-san imtheacht cum Serlus ocus a rád ris fuireach ris, or nir aithin Agiolandus gur b'e Serlus do bhi ag comhradh ris, ocus do aithin Serlus eisium cu maith. Ocus do chuartaigh⁶ in chathair ocus do fhec ga taebh as ar bh'usa a gabhail. Ocus do imthigh chum a *thri fiche* ridiri [tar a ais F. & H.] ocus do gluaisetar cum in *inайд* ar fhacbhatar in da *mhile* ridiri, ocus do lean Agiolandus iat secht *mile* ridiri armtha *eidigthe*.⁷ Do b'ail leis Serlus do *marbhadh*. Ocus ar na aithne sin⁸ do Sherlus ní hanmain do rindi no gu rainic isin⁹ *Fraingc*. Ocus do thinoil *sluagha* mhora ocus do chuaidh cum na cathrach re n-abar Agenne [do b'ail leis a *gabhaile* F. & E.] ocus do shuidh na timceall, ocus do bhi ann co cenn sé mis. Ocus annsa sechtmad mhí ar ndenam chaislen crainn ocus mhorain do shasaibh ele do Sherlus, do elo Agiolandus gu cealgach mailleis na *tighuibh* ocus ris na tigearnadibh do bhi 'na fhochair tre chamradhuib ocus tre pholluibh na cathrach amach, ocus tar in *sruth*¹⁰ darab ainm Gaurona, ocus is mar sin do shechain se cumhachta Serlus. Ocus do chuaidh Serlus [impir na *crodhachta* ocus in *gaisgid* E.] ar n-a mharach¹¹ maille cathughadh mor ann sa *cathraigh* ocus do thuit moran dona Seirrisdineachaibh le harmiaibh, ocus do chuaidh moran dibh maille *guasacht* mor tar in *sruth adubhramar*. Ocus as e lín do thuit isin *cathair*¹² dibh fiche *mile*.¹³

AN SEACHTMADH SGEL ANN SO. F.¹⁴

Do chuaidh Agiolandus iarsin cus in *cathraigh* dar ainm Sconnas¹⁵ or do bhi si in tan sin fa chumachtaibh na Seirrisdineach

1. *mararobuis* F. *mar dubartaisi* E. & H. 2. F. omits. 3. *coimilir* F. *comlir* E. & H. 4. F. omits. 5. *co muinnteara* *sichant* E. 6. *braith* F. 7. E. & H. add *incomluinn*. 8. E. & H. read "na mailisi ocus na ceilgi sin." H. "na mailisi." 9. *annsa* E. 10. *abaind* *gaurona* E. 11. F. omits last three words. 12. *cath Lis*. *cathraid* H. *cathair* F. & E. 13. X. *mili* E. & F. I.X. *Mile* H. 14. E. adds "do *chogad* na *Spáine*. 15. *Scondas* E. & H.

score men as thou badest him, and he would gladly be a vassal of thine if thou fulfillest everything that thou hast promised him; go thou therefore with the same number of the nobles of thy people to meet him and speak to him peaceably." And after they had held that discourse Agiolandus bade them go to Charles and tell him to wait for him. For Agiolandus did not recognize that it was Charles who was conversing with him. But Charles recognized him well, and he went through^a the city and saw from what side it would be easiest to take it. And he went back to his three score knights, and they marched to the place where they had left the two thousand knights, and Agiolandus followed them with seven thousand knights in arms and armour. He desired to slay Charles. And so soon as Charles recognized that, he made no halt^b until he arrived in France. And [there] he collected great hosts and went to the city which is called Agenne,^c which he desired to take, and camped round about it. And he was there to the end of six months. And in the seventh month after Charles having made a castle of wood and many other engines, Agiolandus stole away secretly with the kings and lords who were along with him out through the sewers and holes of the city,^d and across the river whose name is the Garonne, and it was in this way that he avoided Charles's power. And Charles, the emperor of valour and heroism, went on the morrow, with great fighting,^e into the city, and many of the Saracens fell by weapons, and many of them went with great peril across the river we have spoken of. And the number of them who fell in the city was twenty thousand.^f

SEVENTH CHAPTER.

AGIOLANDUS went thereafter to the city which is called Sconnas^g for it was at that time under the power of the Saracens, and he himself and his people abode in it. And as soon as Charles heard

^a *Lit.* "searched," "visited." *Lat.* exploravit. ^b *Lit.* It was not a stopping he made. ^c Agenni C. Agennum. Fr. ^d Per latrinas et foramina.

^e Magno triumpho. ^f Both the Latin texts read 10,000. So do the Franciscan MS. and Egerton. ^g Santonas. C. Sanctonas. Fr., i.e., Xaintonge.

ocus do an fein cona *mhuinnitir* inn ti. Ocus ar na cloisdin¹ sin do Sherlus do lean he ocus do fhocair dho in cathair do thabhairt uadha. Ocus adubhairt sin nach *tibhredh*,² ocus adubhairt co *tibhredh*² cath do Sherlus ar cunnradh airithi, ocus gebe aga *mbeith*³ buaidh in catha in chathair do *bheith* aigi. Ocus do aemh Serlus [an cunnradh E. & H.] sin. Ocus in *aghaidh* roim in cath sin do chur, ar *mbeith* do Sherlus cona *shluagháib* ar machairibh mora idir in *caisléan* darab aimm Talaburgus ocus in cathair laimh ris in sruth darub aimm Tarannta,⁴ do cuireadar cuideachta do *mhuinnitir* Sherlus a ngaithi na sesam a *talmhain* ocus fuaradar fa croiceann ocus fa *bláth* ar na mharach iat, ocus bu iat sin do bhi cum a martra a tus in catha ar na mharach.⁵ Ocus ar bhfeicsin na *mirbuile* sin [do rinne Dia doibh F. & E.] do bhi gairdeachus mor orro ocus do *ghearradar* a *ngaeithi*⁶ o *thalmhain* suas ocus do chuatar [fo na Paganachaibh F.] a tus in catha⁷ ar na mharach, ocus do mharbhatar Moran dona *Padhanachaibh* ocus fuaratar fein a martra.⁸ Ocus ase lin *sluaigh* do bhi Serlus ann sin, .iii. *mile*. Ocus do *marbhadh* a each isin cath sin, ocus ar *mbeith* do fein ar na *mhuchadh* d'imat na *Padanach* do ghuigh se in t-aein-dia *uili-chúmhachtach* um a⁹ fhurtacht, ocus ar *bhfaghail* brighi ocus neirt o Dhia dho [ge do bhi fein da cois E.] do mharbh Moran dona *Padanachaibh*, ocus o nar tualuing¹⁰ iat *cuthach* Serlus d'fulang, do theititar cum na cathrach ocus do len Serlus iat cusin *cathraigh*, ocus do bhris hi gacha taebha, acht in chuid do bhi laimh ris in sruth di. Agus an *aghaidh* na dhiaigh sin do *thinnscain* Agiolandus cona *sluagháib* eludh¹¹ tar an sruth. Ocus ar na *tuicsin*¹² sin do Sherlus do lean he, ocus do mharbh ri na hAraibi ocus ri Frigie¹³ ocus Moran do *Padhanachaibh* ele co .III. *míle*.

AN T-OCHTMAD SGEL. F.

Ocus ar ndithughadh na *Padanach* cu uile¹⁴ do Sherlus do theith Agiolandus gus an port re n-abar Cisereos,¹⁵ ocus tainic co Pampilona ocus do fhuagair do Sherlus cath do tabhairt do. Ar

1. clos F. & H. 2. *tiubhrad* F., H. & E. 3. *gameith* F. 4. Taranda F., H. & E. 5. F., H. & E. omit the last sixteen words. 6. Lismore reads "ghearudar a ngnaithi." 7. E. omits last four words. 8. a martyred H. "do mairtiredh iat fein" F. 9. um F. da E. 10. *beidir* F., E. & H. 11. "elód" H. "elogh do denam" F. & E. 12. *faicsin* F. & E. 13. *haraipi* F., which omits Frigie. H. reads ri brighe. 14. *mór* E. & F. 15. *sicereos* F.

that, he pursued him and sent him word to give up the city. He said he would not, and that he would give battle to Charles on certain conditions—that whoever gained the victory in the battle should have the city. And Charles accepted that agreement. And the night before fighting that battle as Charles with his hosts was on the great plains between the castle whose name is Telaburgus^a and the city beside the stream whose name is Taranta^b some of Charles' people set their spears standing in the ground, and found them covered with bark and with blossoms on the morrow. And those were they who were to be martyred in the forefront of the battle on the morrow. And when they beheld those miracles that God had performed for them they rejoiced greatly, and they cut off their spears on a level with the ground^c and they went in amongst the Pagans in the forefront of the battle on the morrow, and they killed many of the Pagans and found their own martyrdom. And the number of Charles' host there was four thousand. And his steed was slain in that battle. And as he was being smothered by the multitude of Paynims he besought the One-God, all-powerful for help, and receiving strength and power from God, although he was on foot, he slew many of the Paynims; and as they were not able to endure the fury of Charles they fled to the city, and Charles followed them into the city and breached it on every side, except that portion of it which bordered the river. And, the night after that, Agiolandus with his troops began to steal away across the river. And as soon as Charles understood this he pursued him and he killed the King of Arabia^d and the King of Frigie^e and many of the other Paynims, to the number of four thousand.

EIGHTH CHAPTER.

AND after Charles' utterly defeating the Paynims, Agiolandus fled to the pass^f called Cisereos, and he came to Pampilonia and he sent word^g to Charles to give him battle. And when Charles heard that

^a Talaburgus. ^b Charantam C. Caranta *Fr.* == Carenton. ^c *Lit.* from the ground up. ^d Agabiae C. Algabiae *Fr.*, *i.e.* Algarve.

^e or "Frigia." Both Latin texts read Bugiae. ^f or port "transmeavit portus Cisereos" C. Aserros *Fr.*, *i.e.* passes of the Pyrenees. ^g *Lit.* "proclaimed"

na cloisdin sin do Sherlus do chuaidh isin *Frainge* ocus do thionoil cu forlethan a shluagh do fhreagra catha anaghaidh namad in chreidim chatholaice.¹ Ocus do *ordaigh* se gach uili duine do bhi fa bhiadhtachas ocus fa dhaeirsi ar fud na *Frainge* a mbeith saer ocus a sil na ndiaigh ar² dhul leis anaghaidh namat in creidim catholaici. Ocus [an a cend sin F. & E.] a roibhi a cuibrighibh ocus a prisunaibh do urail a *scaledh* ocus a *leicen* amach. Ocus in mhéid do bhochtuib fuair, do shaidhbrigh iat, ocus do éidigh na noiclit ocus do rinne sidhchain ris na trechtuiribh,³ ocus do thog gach neach cum a *eigreachta*⁴ ocus cum a athardha dilsí; ocus gach neach do bhi clisdi ar sciath⁵ d'imchur ocus ar *cathughadh* do denumh, *tuc* beirt *ridiri*⁶ dhoibh, ocus gach neach do *dhealaigh* sé⁷ ris roime sin le na *gcintuibh*⁸ fein *tuc* cuigi iat gu *cairdcamuil*. Ocus ni hiat sin amhain acht in mécid do chairdibh ocus do *náimdib* do b'eidir leis *dshaghail* do *dheisigh* iat do dul leis isin Spain. Ocus gach meit do *dainibh* do *ullinhaigh* Serlus leis cum *cathaighthi* anaghaidh in *chineda* Padanta *tuc* Turpin *airdesboc*⁹ *Remmdis*⁹ esbaloid ocus logad¹⁰ a *pecadh* doibh.

Ar tinol a shluaign do Sherlus i. c. ocus xxx. *mile*¹¹ fer armtha eidighthi a n-ecmais coisighi ocus lucht airm dh'imchar nar *eidir*¹² d'airium, do chuaigh se isin Sbain anaghaidh Agiolanduis. Ocus as iat so anmanna na bfer is mó do chuaidh le Serlus isin Sbain, i. Turpinus in t-airdesbog naemtha do urail¹³ ar in popal *Crisdaighi* dul do chathughadh ris na Padanachaibh ocus do cuireadh anum isin pobal ac tabhairt esbuloidi dhoibh ['na *pecadhaibh* F.] in tan do theigtis cum *cathaighthi*. [Ocus ni hedh amhain ach F.] gach neach do na Seirrisdineachaibh do chreidedh do baistedh iat, ocus gach neach nach creidedh do chathuigheadh na n-aghaidh. Ocus Rolandus diuic *Commanensis*¹⁴ ocus tighearna na Blauini¹⁵ mac

1. *cathoilica* E. 2. do cind dul leis do *riadhughadh* F. H. "do métughadh onora Dia." E. reads as F., but the last word is doubtful. 3. F. seems to read *treigertachuibh*. H. omits. 4. *oidhreachta* F. & E. 5. *sgeith* F. 6. *arm gaiscidh* E. 7. E. adds *no do lom se*. 8. *cinntaib* F. H. omits this passage. 9. *airdeasboc* Roin E. F. omits. H. seems to read Roma. 10. *lobad* F. 11. i. c. ocus .x. m. xx. F. E. & H. have x mile xx ar. c. 12. H. reads "ind ecmais daeine ndímaeinech." E. turns this passage differently and adds "nachar b'eidir d'airim na do cur a suim o soin amach." 13. E. adds "ocus do guidh." H. omits most of this passage. 14. *diuci sluaigh Serluis* F. E. & H. read "Comamanensis" for "Serluis." 15. H. "Blavii." E. seems to read "blastacht."

he went into France and he gathered together his host from all sides^a to join battle against the enemies of the Catholic Faith. And he ordered that every person whatsoever who was under *biadhtachas*^b or in slavery throughout France, was to become free and their seed after them on condition of their going with him against the enemies of the Catholic Faith. And, in addition to that, all who were in bonds and in prisons he ordered to be loosed and let go. And all the poor whom he found he enriched, and he clothed the naked, and he made peace with the traitors,^c and he raised^d every person to his inheritance and lawful patrimony. And every person who was expert at bearing shield and fighting he gave them the equipment of knights. And all the persons he had separated from himself through their own misdeeds before that, he received them [now] in a friendly manner. And not them only but all the friends and enemies he was able to get, he made them ready to go with him into Spain. And all the hosts of people whom Charles prepared [to go] with him to war against the Pagan race, Turpin,^e Archbishop of Rheims, gave them absolution and remission of their sins.

When Charles had collected his host, namely a hundred and thirty thousand men armed and equipped, not to speak of foot-soldiers and armour bearers whom it was impossible to number, he passed into Spain to meet Agiolandus. And here are the names of the chiefest men who went with Charles into Spain: Turpin,^f the holy archbishop who ordered Christian people to go and battle with the Paynims, and who used to put heart^g into the people giving them absolution for their sins when they used to go to fight, and not that only, but every one of the Saracens who might believe, he used to baptize them, and every one who would not believe he used to fight against him; and Roland,^h Duke of Commaneⁱ and Lord of the Blavini, sisters son to Charles, and son of

^a Lit. "widely." ^b i.e. "who had to supply food," "who held on that tenure." ^c Latin *ut omnes servi qui sub malis consuetudinibus pravorum dominorum religati tenebantur.* ^d *Malevilos pacificavit.* ^e *relevabit.*
Lis. reads "togh." ^f *Ego Turpinus.* ^g *ego Turpinus qui.* ^h *populum animatum reddebam.* ⁱ The Latin MSS. give this name in many different spellings, Rotholandus, Rotolandus, Rothlandus, Rolandus, from which last form comes Orlando. ⁱ Comes Cenomannensis, Blavii dominus=Count of Mans and lord of Guienne?

derbhshetar do Sherlus, ocus mac do Diuic Milo Dengleris,¹ fer mor do meit, ocus crodha do laimh, maille *re cethra mile* fer n-armach ;² ocus Oluerus taiseach na sluagh, ridiri cruaidh ar na derbad co meinic a *cathuib*, ro chumhachtach ar ghai ocus ar *claideamh*,³ Iarla Gebinensis,⁴ maille *re trí mile* fer in-chatha ; ocus Araslandus ri *no diuic*⁵ na Britaine⁶ maille *secht mile* ; ocus Engelerus⁷ diuic na Giane, maille *re cethra mile* [fer n-incatha F. & E.] Ocus do batar so uili clisdi ar armuibh, ocus co h-airithi ar dibhracad soiget ;⁸ ocus Gaferus ri Burdugalensis maille *secht⁹ mile*, ocus Gandebolldus ri Frisie maille *secht mile* ;¹⁰ ocus Othgherus¹¹ ri Lochlann maille *deich mile* ; ocus *Consantinus Prefectus Romanus* maille *deich mile* ; ocus moran do righuibh ocus do dhiuicibh ocus do Tighearnaib ele *cona* *sluagh* *nach airimhtear* ann so. Ocus do bi nuimhir *sluagh* Serluis ann sin da *fhichit mile* ridiri armtha *eidighthi*, ocus ni roibhi nuimhir na aireamh ar a coisighibh ; ocus na fir remraitti sin do b'uasal iat ocus do chathuigheadur a hucht creidimh Crist. Amhuiil mar do ghab Crist, maille na esbulaibh in *doman* le saethar mor, is mar sin do ghab Serluis ri na Frangcach ocus *impir* na Romanach mailleis an ndroing-si adubhramar in Spain co huilidhi a n-anoir Isu Crist.

A[N] NAEMADH SGEL ANN SO. F.

Do tinoileadh¹² iarum na *sluagh* sin Serluis laimh re Burdius ocus do cluinti foghar ocus mongur na *sluagh* sin uidhi dha mili dhec o'n inad a rabhatar. Ocus 'na dliaigh sin do druit Serluis *cona* *shluagh* laimh ris in cathair a raibhi Agiolandus i. Pampilonia. Ocus do bhi ridiri uasal dar¹³ ainn Arnalldus De Bellanda a bhfochair Serluis, ocus do chuaidh se tar an *sruth* re n-abar Ciserios, ocus do lean Iarla he dar¹³ ainn Estultus *cona* *shluagh*

1. de angleris E. & H. E. adds "onus do Burta i. siur do S." H. reads do *uerta* i. siur S. 2. F. omits the last twenty-four words. 3. F. omits last fifteen words, H. omits the last seven, and E. seems to read "ar laimh." 4. Gebensis E., H. & F. 5. These two words are written in *Lis*, above the line. 6. *Lis*. reads "bri." 7. F. omits. 8. ar boghaibh ocus ar soigdibh F. & E. H. omits. 9. .IIII. m. E. & H. 10. F. omits last fifteen words. E. reads "gandeboldus," and gives him .X. m. fer. 11. Ogerus E. & F. Oghus H. 12. E. adds as before to the title of the chapter the words "do cogadh na Spaine," and begins "Mar do tinoileadh." H. forgets to number this chapter or the figures have been cut away. *Lis*. reads "tinoil." 13. darb F. darab E. darba H.

Duke Milo Dengleris, a man great of size and valiant of hand, together with four thousand armed men ; and Oliver, captain of the hosts, a hardy knight, proved often in battles, right powerful for spear or sword, the Earl of Gebinense^a [?] with three thousand men fit for battle ; and Arastandus, King (or Duke)^b of Bretagne, with seven thousand ; and Engelerus, Duke of Giane,^c with four thousand men of war. And all these men were expert at weapons, and especially at shooting arrows ; and Gaiferus,^d the King of Burdigale (?) with seven thousand, and Gandeboldus, King of Frisie, with seven thousand, and Othgerus,^e King of Lochlann, with ten thousand ; and Consantinus, the Roman Prefect, with ten^f thousand ; and many other kings and dukes and lords with their hosts who are not enumerated here.^g And the number of Charles' troops there was forty thousand knights in arms and armour, and the foot soldiers were not to be reckoned or counted ! And the afore-mentioned men were all noble, and they fought for the sake of the Faith of Christ. Just as Christ with his disciples took the world with great labour, so did Charles, king of the Franks and emperor of the Romans, with this band that we have spoken of, take the whole of Spain, in honour of Jesus Christ.

NINTH CHAPTER.

AFTERWARDS those hosts of Charles were gathered close by Burdius,^h and the noise and murmur of those hosts might be heard a distanceⁱ of twelve miles from the place in which they were. And after that Charles with his armies moved close to the city where Agiolandus was, namely Pampilonia. And there was a noble knight whose name was Arnaldus De Bellanda along with Charles, and he crossed the river which is called Ciserios,^j and an

^a Comes Gebennensis. C. It is not in the *Fr.* text. ^b The words "or duke" are written above the line in *Lis.* as a variant, both Latin texts read Rex Britannorum. ^c Dux Aquitaniae. ^d Both Latin texts have Gaiferus, rex Burdigalensis, *i.e.*, of Bordeaux. ^e Ogerius rex Daciae.

^f Viginti. C. ^g The Latin texts give many more names but they do not agree with one another. ^h in landis burdigalensibus. C. ⁱ Literally "journey." ^j transmeavit portus Ciserios. C. Asereos. *Fr.*

cusin cathraigh céadna, ocus na dhiaigh sin do chuaidh Serlus ocus *Rolandus*¹ maille moran do shluaghaib ele na dhiaigh. Ocus do bhi dh' imat a *sluagh* innus gur fhoilgħitar in *talamh* o sruth Ruibcus in sliabh do bhi *tri leuic*² i.e. nai *mile* on *chathair* a roibh Agiolandus, ar *sligidh* *San Sem.* Ocus do bhatar *fedh* ocht la ag dul tar an sruth *adubhramar* *cum* na cathrach. Ocus do fhogur Serlus do Agiolandus in *cathair* do *thabhairt* do *no* a fhresdal *um*³ *chath.* Do connaic Agiolandus nach *ba* eidir leis in *chathair* do *connmhail*⁴ d'imad na *sluagh* do bhí na aghaidh, ocus as i comhairle do rinne dul⁵ tar *cathair* amach do *thabhairt* in *chatha*, ar *egla* *bais* an-uasail d'faghail isin *cathair.* Ocus do chuir se *techta* chum Serlus d'faghail osaidh uadha no go *tised*⁶ *cona* *shluagh* tar an *cathraigh* amach do *thabhairt* *catha* do, ocus cum *labhartha* ris. Or *ba h-ailgiusach* le hAgiolandus Serlus d'feicsin ar⁷ cu mad aithne do he.

AN DEACMAD SGEL ANN SO. F.⁸

Do cheduigh Serlus an t-osadh sin [do *siredh* air]⁹ ocus do chuaidh Agiolandus *cona* *shluagh* tar in *cathraigh* amach, ocus do *fhacuib* a *shluagh* *laim* *risin* *cathair*, ocus do chuaidh *fein*, ocus da *fhicħit* do na *dainibh* is *uaisli* do bhi na *fhochair* cum Serlus [mar a roib se a *fochuir* a *shluagh*.]¹⁰ Ocus do bhi *sluagh* Serlus agus *sluagh* Agiolandus ar *machaire* *moir* *reidh* do bhi *itir* in *cathair* ocus *slighi* *San Sem*, ocus do b'ē *fad*¹¹ do bhi *etorra* sin se mħile. *Adubhaint* Serlus, “as *tusa* Agiolandus¹² do *ben* *mu thighearnus* dim gu *h-ecoir* i.e. in *Spain* ocus in *Gasquin* do *għabhas* maille *cumhachtaibh* *De*, ocus do *chuiris*¹³ *fo* *recht* ocus *fo* *cuing* na *Cristaighe*. Ocus ar *n-impodh* *dhamh* tar *ais*¹⁴ cum na *Fraingce*

1. Both *Lis.* and *E.* read here rather awkwardly “R. *cona* *sluagħaibh* *maille*” etc. I have followed *F.* here. 2. Thus *H.* *Lis.* reads *ocus*, for *i.e.* *F.* omits, and *E.* reads “*do bi* .xx. *mile.*” 3. *F.* omits last three words. *E.* reads “*no cath*” in place of them. 4. *an cath* do *thabhairt* *F.* & *H.* *E.* combines both sentences. 5. *tar an sruth* *no* *tar an cathair* *E.* & *F.* 6. *roithigh fein* *F.* *soidheaddh* *E.* *co dol dō* *H.* 7. *E.* omits *ar*, and adds “*aris*” after “*he.*” 8. *E.* has “*in* .x. *scel* do *chogadh* na *Spaine.*” 9. Added from *E.* & *F.* 10. Added from *E.* & *F.* 11. *fedh* *H.* in *feadh* *E.* 12. a *Agilandus* *E.* 13. Thus *E.* & *F.* *Lis.* has “*churiset.*” 14. *m'ais* *F.* & *E.*

Earl who was called Estultus followed him with his host to the same city ; and after that Charles and Roland marched together with many other armies following him. And so great was the multitude of their hosts that they covered the ground from the stream of Ruibi^a to the mountain that was three leagues (that is nine miles) from the city where Agiolandus was, on the road of Saint James.^b And they were for eight days going across the river^c we have mentioned towards the city. And Charles sent word to Agiolandus to give him up the city or to meet him in battle. Agiolandus saw that it would not be possible for him to hold the city, by reason of the number of the hosts that were against him ; and the counsel he resolved on was to go out beyond the city to give battle, for fear of meeting an ignoble death^d in the city. And he sent messengers to Charles to obtain a truce from him until he should come out beyond the city with his army to give him battle, and to speak to him. For Agiolandus was most-desirous to see Charles that he might recognize him.

TENTH CHAPTER.

CHARLES consented to that truce which was desired of him, and Agiolandus went out with his host past the city, and he left his army beside the city, and he went himself with two score^e of the most noble who were with him to Charles to where he was along with his army. And the army of Agiolandus and Charles's army were on a great level plain that lay between the city and Saint James' road. And the distance that was between them was six miles. Said Charles, "You are Agiolandus who have taken my lordship from me unlawfully, namely Spain and Gascony, which I had taken with God's power, and which I put under the law and yoke of the Christians. And as soon as I had turned back

^a Runae. Rume. *Lat.* texts.

^d turpiter mori.

^b via iacobitana.

^e Lat. sexaginta.

^c Lat. portus.

do mharbhuis a bhfhuaruis do *Christaighibh* annsa *Sbáin* ocus do scrisais a cathracha ocus a caislein ocus do loiscis in tir co himlán, ocus ar na hadbhuraibh sin as mor m' *agra* ortanois.¹

Mar do chualaidh Agiolandus tengna Seirrisdineach² ag Serlus do bhi ingantus mor aigi uime. Or in tan do bhi Serlus 'na mhacamh og do bhi se seal d'a aimsir idir na *Padanachaibh* isin cathair re n-abar Toletum, ocus do fhoghlaim se tengna Seirrisdineach isin cathair sin.

Adubhairt Agiolandus re Serlus "Guigim³ thu um⁴ a innisin damh cred fa rucais on chineadh da bhfuilmit-ne in ferunn nach benann riut fein do dhliged oighreachta, na red' th'athair, na red' shen-athair, na red' ceneil romut."⁵

Adubhairt Serlus, "Ase adbhar fa rucas uatha⁶ he or do thagh an Tighearna nemhdha, do chruthaigh neamh ocus talamh, ar cinedh-ne .i. *Cristaighi*, tar chinedhuibh in domhain; ocus doordaigh se nert ocus cumachta dhoibh orro, ocus ar a shon sin do chuires-sa in cinedh *Padanta* fa n-ar ndliged fein, in mhéid do fhéidus."

Adubhairt Agiolandus "As móir is anuasal in dlidet do chuirfedh ar cinedh-ne fa bhar⁷ cinedh-si. Or is ferr ar ndliged-ni ina bar ndliged-si. As e a adhbhar sin coimhétmaite ne aithinta Macametuise⁸ do chuir Dia mar thechtairi chucainn. Or atait dée cumachtacha againn do beir rigdacht ocus flaithemhnus díuinn ocus fhoillsighes duinn na neithi bhis ac teact ar urailedh Macametuise.

Adubhairt Serlus "ac sin arrait⁹ acat, or adubhrais gur fherr bar ndliged fein ina ar ndliged-ne, o choimhédtaí aithinta Macametuise, ocus," adubhairt Serlus, "creidmit-ne ocus adhramait Dia .i. in t-Athair ocus in Mac ocus in *Spirut* naemh, ocus creidte-si ocus adharthai in diabal a n-idbartaibh balbha dímhaine, ocus ar son in chreidim chondaimmit-ne,¹⁰ tar eis bhais d'fhaghail duin rachait ar n-anmanna isin bethaid marthanaigh a Parthus. Bur

1. Last word omitted in *Lis.*, which reads mh' for m' in m'agra. "Macra" H
 2. E. adds "annsa cathair." 3. Guidim E. & F. H. omits. 4. ma
 E. & F. 5. Thus F. *Lis.* & H. have uaibh. E. buaibh. 6. "nar" F.,
 "u" with a smaller n over it, E., but both read "bar" in the next line.
 H. reads "ar" for "bhar" in both lines. 7. F. inflecting mac as if it
 were an Irish word, writes in full Micametus. 8. ariud E. araid F.
 aruid H. 9. Congmádmait-ne H.

into France you slew all you found of Christians in Spain, and destroyed their cities and castles and burnt the country completely, and for those reasons great are my complaints^a against you."

When Agiolandus heard the Saracens language from Charles he marvelled at it greatly.^b For when Charles was a youth he had been for a part of the time amongst the Paynims in the city which is called Toletum,^c and he had learnt the language of the Saracens in that city.

Said Agiolandus to Charles, "I pray you tell me why have you taken from the race to which we belong, the land that did not pertain to yourself by law of heredity, nor to your father, nor to your grandfather, nor to your race before you"?

Said Charles, "the reason why I took it from them is that the heavenly lord who created heaven and earth has chosen our race, namely the Christians, beyond all the races of the world, and has ordained strength and power for the Christians over them, and for that reason I have placed the Pagan race under our own law, in so far as I have been able."

Said Agiolandus, "exceedingly ignoble^d is the law which would place our race under your race, for better is our law than your law. The reason of that is that we keep the commandments of Mahomet whom God sent as a messenger to us. For we have powerful Gods who give kingship and sovereignty to us, and manifest to us the things that are coming at the bidding of Mahomet."

Said Charles, "that is an error you are in, for you said that your own law was better than our law since ye keep the commandments of Mahomet, and," said Charles, "we believe in and adore God the Father the Son and the Holy Spirit,^e and ye believe in and worship the devil in dumb and vain offerings, and for the sake of the Faith which we keep, after death, our souls shall go into eternal life in Paradise ; your souls, however, they shall

^a multum conqueror. ^b The Latin texts add "et gavisus est." ^c Fr. reads Coletum. ^d valde indignum est. ^e The Latin texts add "quos colimus, per quos vivimus et regnamus."

n-anmanna-si *iomorro* a n-ifern rachait. *Maseadh*¹ as ferr ar ndliged-ne ina bhar ndliged-si, ocus o *nach* aitheantai *cruth-uightheoir* na ndul ocus *nach* ail libh a aithne do *bheith* aguibh, ni dliughthi² oighrecht do *bheith* acuibh a nim na a *talam*, *acht* biaidh bur rann ocus bur sealbh a *bhfocair* an *diabail* ocus *Macametuis* i. bar ndia fein, ocus ar an *adbhar* sin *gab-sa* ocus do *chinedh* *baistedh* cuacaibh ocus bethi beo, no tar³ amac[h] am aghaidh-si chum *cathaighthi* gu *bhfagha* tu⁴ bás anuasal."

Adubhairt Agiolandus "nír *ordaigh* mu *dhia-sa* sin, acht caitheochat-sa ocus mu *chinedh* ad aghaidh-si, ocus anaghaidh do chinidh ar an *cunnrad-sa* i. ma's ferr *bhar*⁵ ndliged-si ina ar ndliged-ni ocus sibh-se do *breith* *buaidhi*⁶ *catha* *oraind-ne*, bidh tathair ar in lucht claiter againd, ocus *moladh* ocus *gairdiughadh* don lucht claidh fes iat, do *shir*, ocus da claiter mu *chined-sa* gebat *baistedh* cugam cum *beith* a *mbethaidh*."⁷

Ocus do *cedaighed* in [n]i sin acu, da gach *taebh*,⁸ ocus do toghadh *acedoir* .xx. *ridiri* *Cristaighi* ar lathair an *chatha* cum *fichit* *ridiri* do na *Seirrisdineachaibh*. Ocus do *thinnscnadar* *cathughadh* ar an *cunnrad* sin, ocus do *marbadh* co h-imlan na *Seirrisdínigh*. Do cuired da *fichit* anaghaidh dhá *fichit* ocus do *marbadh* na *Seirrisdínigh* mar an *céadna*. Do cuired *cét* anaghaidh *cét* ocus do *marbadh* na *Seirrisdínigh*. Do cuired arís *cét* anaghaidh *cét*, ocus do *theith* in *cét* *Cristaighi* tar a n-ais, ocus do *marbadh* uili iat. Ocus do b'e a *adbar* sin or do bhí egl a marbhtha orro. Or ni dliginn in luchd le'r ail *cathughadh* ar son creidimh *Crist* *teithedh* do *denam*, na⁹ egl a *bheith* orro. Ocus mar do *marbadh* na *Cristaighi*¹⁰ út ar son mar do *theithedar* is mar sin do na *Cristaighibh* darub dlied *cathughadh* *laidir* do dhenam anaghaidh na *pecadh* [da teitid tar a n-ais annsna *pecadhaibh* do gebaid bas anuasal, ocus da *cathaighid* co *maith*]¹¹ muirbhfit a *namaid* co h-imlán i. na *diabail* do *beir* orra na *pecaidh* do *denam*.

1. mar : is follus co, etc., F. *Maseadh* is follus gurab E. 2. ni *dligheadh* dibh E & H. 3. *Tara* E. *Tarra* F. & H. 4. *fagtha* E. *fadta* F., both omit "tu." 5. ar H. 6. *buaidh* E. *buadha* F. & H. 7. F. & H. omit last four words. 8. *gacha* *taebha* E. 9. ar son E. 10. an *cuideachta* ut F. & E. 11. Last sixteen words from F. E. resembles it. *Lis.* & H. omit.

go to hell.^a If so, better is our law than your law, and since ye do not recognize the Creator of the elements and do not wish to recognize him ye ought not to have an inheritance in heaven or on earth, but your portion and possession shall be with the Devil and Mahomet—your own God.^b And for that reason accept baptism, you and your race, and ye shall live, or come out against me to fight that you may receive an ignoble death."^c

Said Agiolandus, "my God hath not so ordered it, but I and my race shall fight against you and your race on this condition, if your law be better than our law and if you gain victory in battle over us, let those of us who are overthrown be disgraced, and let those who overthrow them find praise and rejoicing for ever, and if my race be overthrown I shall accept baptism to save my life."^d

And that was conceded by them on each side, and first there were chosen twenty Christian knights on the field of battle against twenty knights of the Saracens, and they began to fight on this condition, and the Saracens were all killed. Forty were sent against forty, and the Saracens were slain in like manner. A hundred were sent against a hundred, and the Saracens were slain. Again a hundred were sent against a hundred, and the Christian hundred fled back and they were all killed. And the reason of this was that they were afraid of being killed. For those who desire to war for the Christian faith ought not to fly or be afraid. For as those Christians were killed, though they did fly, even so with the Christians whose duty it is to make a strong fight against sins, if they fall back into sin they shall meet an ignoble death, but if they fight well they shall utterly slay their enemies, namely the devils, who cause them to commit

^a ad orcum. ^b The last forty-five words are not in the Latin texts.
^c ut male moriaris. ^d *Lit.* "to be in life." Latin, "si vivere possim."

Or adubhuit in t-esbal 'ni fhuighi coroin acht an nech cathaighfes co dlestineach.' Do cuired iar sin da *chet* in aghaidh *dá chét*, ocus do marbadh na *Seirrisdínigh* uili. Do cuired *míle* anaghaidh *míle* ocus do marbadh na *Seirrisdínigh*. Do ghabhadur osadh da gach thaebh¹ d'aithle in cathuighthi sin, ocus tainic Agiolandus do labhairt re Serlus, ocus is *edh* adubhaint : "Daingnighim² gurub fearr creidium ocus dlidet na *Cristaighi* ina na *Seirrisdíneach*,"³ ocus do gheall do Sherlus co ngebudh fein ocus a chinedh baistedh cuca ar n-a mharach. Ocus do impo cum a muinntiri iar sin, ocus do innis da maithibh [agus d'a móruaisle F.] co ngebad fein baistedh cuigi. Ocus do fhogair doib-sium uili baistedh do ghabhail cuca, ocus do ceduigh drong dhibh sin, ocus do loc an cuid ele.

AN T-AENMAD SGEL DHEG ANND SO. F.

Tainig Agiolandus cum Serlus do gabhail *baistidh*⁴ chuice ar n-a mharach, a timcheall in treas uair do lo, ocus do connaic se Serlus ag dul cum bidh, ocus moran do bordaibh ic a ndeisiughadh 'na árus,⁵ ocus moran d'orduibh ag caithemh bidh orra, ocus cuid díbh a n-aibitibh *ridireadh*, ocus cuid a n-aibid duibh mhanach,⁶ ocus drong a n-aibid ghil cananach, ocus drong a n-aibitibh *cléireach*, ocus moran ele ocus aibide ecsamhla umpa.

Do fhiarfaigh Agiolandus do Sherlus ga ceneal da gach ord díbh-sin fo leith?

Do fhregair Serlus do ocus adubhaint, "in drong ud do chi uma bhfuilid aibide ocus erradh⁶ aen ndatha, easbuig ocus sacairt ar rechta-ne súd, mhínighis aithinta ar ndligid duin, ocus do *beir* esbuloid dun in ar pecthaibh; in drong úd do chí ocus aibidi dubha impaib, manuigh ocus abbaidh súd, ocus daine naemtha, ocus ni scurit do sir ag *eadarguighi* in aein-dia uili-cumachtaigh tar ar cend-ne, ac cantain trath ocus aithfrenn ocus urnaighthi."⁸

1. gacha taebha E. & H. 2. admair H. 3. E. omits last eleven words. 4. ocus do gab baistedh cuici H. 5. moran bord aca tocайл na cathraid H. 6. Manaigh F. E. & H. omit "duibh." "an aibiti dubha ocus berréid [birréit H.] aen datha asbuic ocus" E. & H. F. reads "bcirtí" for "erradh." *Lis.* has enn for aen. 7. ocus in drong ud do cithi annaibidibh gela, cananaigh riaghalta sud, ocus bid mar in cedna ag guidhi, etc., F. & E. H. resembles this. 8. H. omits last seven words.

sin. For the apostle has said, "no one but he who shall battle lawfully shall obtain a crown." After that there were sent two hundred against two hundred and the Saracens were all slain. A thousand were sent against a thousand and the Saracens were slain.

They accepted a truce on both sides after that fighting, and Agiolandus came to speak to Charles and it was what he said, "I affirm^a that better is the religion and law of the Christians than of the Saracens," and he promised Charles that he himself and his race would receive baptism on the morrow. And he returned to his people after that and told his chiefs and nobles that he himself would accept baptism. And he issued a proclamation to them all to receive baptism. And some consented to that, and the rest refused.

ELEVENTH CHAPTER.

AGIOLANDUS came to Charles to receive baptism on the morrow, about the third hour of the day; and he saw Charles going to dine and many tables being laid in his camp^b and many orders [of clergy] eating food at them, some of them in the habits of knights and some in the black habit of monks, and some in the white habit of canons, and some in the habit of clerics, and many others clad in various habits.

Agiolandus asked Charles what kind was each order of them, separately.

Charles answered him and said, "that band which you see clothed in habits and equipments of the same colour are bishops and priests of our religion^c who explain to us the commandments of our law, and give us absolution in our sins; yonder band whom you behold clad in black habits, they are monks and abbots, and holy people,^d and they cease not continuously to make intercession with the one Almighty God, in our behalf, chanting canonical hours and masses and prayers." After that Agiolandus saw in a

^a daingnighim is an interesting translation of the Latin affirmare. ^b àrus usually "a dwelling" or "abode" seems to be sometimes used in this text for "camp." ^c *Lit.* "law." ^d sanctiores.

As a aithle sin do connaic Agiolandus, a cuil eicin do chuirt Sherluis *impíri*, dá bhocht dec, a n-aibit truaigh bhoicht ocus siat na suidhe ar in *talam* gan bhuid gan scoraidi 'na bhfhiadhnuisi, ocus gan acht becan bidh ocus *dighe* acu aga chaithimh, ocus do fiafraigh Agiolandus ca cenel daine dhoibh.

Adubhairt Serlus: "techartairedha o n-ar Tighearna o Mhac De sud biathmaid gach lai fa *nuimir* in da esbal dec."

Adubhairt Agiolandus "in *drong* so ata laimh rit-sa is saidhbhir iat, ocus is saidbir *ithid* ocus *ibid* ocus *eidightheart* iat. In mhuinn-ter úd *adeiri* is teachtaireadha do Dia, cred fa leice¹ a ndul do ghorta ocus a ndrocheidedh ocus a cur a bhfad uait² ocus a *minorughadh*," ocus adubhairt, "as olc umhlaighius d'a thigerna in ti gabus a *teachta* gu *dochraidh* chuigi ocus is mor in naire do ní d'a³ Dhia fein in te do *beir* drochsheirbhis da *muinntir*. Ocus do dhligid fein adubrais do *bheith* maith, foillsigianois a *bheith* fallsa."⁴ Ocus ar *ngabail* cheda do o⁵ Sherlus do imthigh *cum* a mhuinntire fein maille re scannuil [moir F.] ocus do dhiult baisdedh do ghabhail cuigi, ocus d'fhocuir cath ar na marach ar Sherlus. Ocus do tuicc Serlus gurab ar son na mbocht do connaic Agiolandus co mianorach do diult se in *baistedh*; ocus ar a son sin, na huili boc[h]t fuair Serlus ar a *shluaighedh*⁶ do urail *beith* frichnamhach riu, ocus biadh ocus *deoch* ocus edach do thabhairt doibh cu lor.⁷ Ar an *adbhar* sin as in-tuchta dh'aire⁸ gurab mor in choir⁹ da gach *Cristaighi* nach tabhair seirbhis frichnamach¹⁰ do bochtuibh *Crist*. Ocus o do mhill Serlus *impír* Agiolandus ocus a *cinedh* ar son gur mhianoraigh Serlus na boict,¹¹ cindus bias don droing do *bheir* drochsheirbhis do bochtuibh De,¹² do'n lo deighineach, ocus cinnus eistfit siat guth adhuathmar in tigearna adéara riu 'Imthighidh uaim¹³ a *mhaca no a lucht*¹⁴ na mallacht isin teinidh marthanaigh. Or in uair do bi ocarus oram ni thucabhar biadh dhamh, ocus in

1. cad fa leigidh E. leicid H. 2. a cur uait afat ocus amian orradh E. "ocus amian ort" F. H. omits. 3. do F. & H. "do neoch do *beir*" etc., E. 4. faillsa *Lis*. E. reads "ocus do *dligheadh* a *beith* comaith riu, ocus foill—" etc. 5. a F. ac H. 6. "ar sl—" E. & F. 7. co leoir do *tobhairt* doibh ocus *aneideadh* coromor E. 8. is intuca do gach nech E. 9. cair F. & E. 10. nasal E. & F. 11. Last seventeen words omitted in E. 12. Dia E. & F. 13. uain F. buaim E. 14. H. reads "a lucht na mallachtan," the "no a lucht" is evidently a marginal note of an alternative reading which has crept into the text.

certain corner of Charles the emperor's court twelve poor men in pitiable poor weeds, and they sitting on the ground without tables or tablecloths^a before them, and with only a little food and drink for them to partake of. And Agiolandus asked what kind of people were those.

Charles said, "those are messengers from our Lord, from the son of God, whom we feed every day according to the number of the twelve apostles."

Agiolandus said "these people who are beside thee are rich, and richly do they eat and drink and are clothed. Yon band who are, you say, the messengers of your God, why do you leave them to suffer^b famine and to be in bad clothing, and to be put far away from you, and to be dishonoured"? And he said, "badly does he obey his lord who receives his messengers with dishonour,^c and great is the shame which he causes^d to his own God, the man who gives evil service to His people. And your own law which you said was good, you show now that it is false." And taking leave of Charles he departed to his own people with scandal^e and refused to accept baptism, and on the morrow he challenged Charles to battle. And Charles understood that it was on account of the poor whom Agiolandus had seen in dishonourable condition that he refused baptism. And on that account every poor person whom Charles found upon his hostings^f [thenceforward] he gave orders to be liberal^g with them and give them food and drink and clothing in plenty. For that reason it is to be observed that great is the crime for every Christian who does not give earnest service to the poor of Christ. And as the emperor Charles spoilt^h [the Christianizing of] Agiolandus and his race because he had dishonoured the poor, how shall it be with those who give evil service to the poor of God, at the last day, and how shall they listen to the awful voice of the Lord which shall say to them, 'Depart from me ye accursed into everlasting fire, for when I was an hungered ye gave

^a sine mensa sine linteaminibus comedentes. ^b *Lit.* let them go to famine, "cur fame pereunt." ^c Turpiter. ^d *Lit.* "does," "verecundiam facit."

^e These two words are not in the Latin. ^f or "armies" "in exercitu" *Lat.*

^g *Lit.* diligent. Latin has "diligenter procuravit." ^h Perdidit.

tan do bi tart ni tucabhar deoch. Ma aseadh is intuicthi gurab beag foghnas dlidet De na a chreideamh don Christaighi muna coimhlinna¹ iat d'oibreachaib. Or adeir in Scriptur diadha 'mar is marbh in corp² gan anum is mar sin is marb in creidiumh³ ann fein gan na hoibreacha maithe.' Ocus mar do sheachain in rí Padanta in baistedh ar son nach facaith se oibreacha⁴ certa in bhaistidh ag Serlus impiri, is mar sin ata a egla orum nach faicfe Dia creidium in baistidh innainn o nach fuighi se oibreacha in baistidh againn a lo in breitheamhnais.

IN DARA SGEL DHEG.

Tancatur ar na mharach na sluaigh armdha eidighthi da gach taebh ar in machuiri cum cathaighthi ar imrisan⁵ in da dlidet. Ocus do bhi sluagh Sherluis ceithre mile dec ar fhichit céid⁶ ocus do bhi sluagh Agiolanduis ced mile ocus do ronsat na Cristaighi ceithre tosaig⁷ dibh fein cum in chatha, ocus do rineadar na Seirrisdínigh a cuic, ocus do cuadar da chorughadh⁸ dibh sin chum cathaighthi re cheli ocus do claired⁹ na Seirrisdínigh a chedoir, ocus in dara¹⁰ cuideachta do cuireadar na Padhanaigh¹¹ do clairedh iat mar an cedna [ocus a cedoar F.] Ar na fhaicsin dona Padhanachaibh didbail ro mhor ar a sluaghaibh do thinoiletar a timchioll Agiolanduis, ocus mar do connatar na Cristaighi sin tancatar a timchioll Serluis¹² da gach thaeibh .i. Arnalldus de Bellanda a taeibh dhibh cona sluaghaib, ocus Estultus cona shluagh a taeibh eli [ocus Aruitantus (?) rí co na sluaghaiba taeb ele dib H.] ocus Gaudebolldus¹³ cona shluagh a taeibh ele, ocus Othgerus ri cona shluagh a taebh eile, ocus Consantinus Romanus cona shluagh a taeibh eli, Serlus ocus prinnsada¹⁴ na sluagh a taeibh eli, ag sdiúradh^{15a} muinntiri, ocus do thinnscnadar a sduic umaidhi do sheinm, ocus tucadar

1. E. adds "tu." H. reads mona comlínait hé. 2. mar ata an corp marbh E., H. & F. 3. ata an cr marb E. & F. 4. Thus F. & E. oibrighthi *Lis*. 5. imrisin E. & F. E. reads creidim for "dlidet." 6. After .xx. *Lis*. has "7" written above the line. 7. dronga E. H. & F. 8. "da coruga" E. omitting dibh sin. "da corug dib" H., in each case with a stroke over the g. 9. claidheda E. & H. claidhi F. 10. "da" F. 11. E. & F. add "chúcu." 12. Thus F. The other three MSS. read "ina timchell." 13. Gaudebolldus de bel— E. 14. Serlus prinnsa na sl. [an tsl H.] E. & H. 15. ac sonnadh E.

me no meat, when I was athirst ye gave me no drink." If so, it is to be understood that neither the law of God nor his religion will be of much profit to the Christian unless he carry them out in works.* For the Holy Scripture says 'as the body is dead without a soul, so is faith dead in itself without good works.' And as the Pagan king shunned baptism because he did not see the proper works of baptism with the emperor Charles, even so I am afraid that God will not see the faith of baptism in us, if he find not the works of baptism in us on the day of Judgment.

TWELFTH CHAPTER.

THE hosts came on the morrow, in arms and armour from each side, on to the plain to fight in the quarrel of the two religions.^b And Charles's army numbered one hundred and thirty-four thousand and the army of Agiolandus was one hundred thousand. And the Christians made four fronts^c of themselves against the battle, and the Saracens made five. And two divisions of them advanced to fight with one another, and the Saracens were at once overthrown. And the second company which the Paynims sent, they were overthrown, and speedily, in like manner. When the Paynims saw very great losses [inflicted] on their hosts they gathered round about Agiolandus. And, as soon as the Christians saw that, they gathered round Charles on every side, namely, Arnold De Bellanda on one side with his hosts and Estultus with his host on another side, and King Arvitantus (?) with his hosts on another side of them, and Gandebolldus with his host on another side, and King Othgerus^d with his host on another side, and Constantinus Romanus^e with his host on another side, and Charles with the princes of the hosts on another side directing their people, and they commenced to blow their brazen trumpets,

* *Lit.* 'fulfil them of works.' ^b *Lit.* "laws" "legum." ^c acies.

^d Otgerius C. Ogerius *Fr.*, *i.e.* Ogier the Dane. ^e both Latin texts omit "Romanus."

ucht ar a cheli ocus do chathaighseat co dúr ocus co dichra. Do chuaidh Arnalldus de Bellanda ortha ar tus ocus do dhithigh cu mor iat d'á dheis ocus d'á cli, no gu rainic Agiolandus a medhon¹ a mhuinntiri, ocus do ben a *claidheamh* amach ocus do innsaigh Agiolandus ocus do mharbh he. Is ann sin do ronad eithe² ocus ilgháirthe mora coscair ocus commaidme ag na *Cristaighibh* ocus do thimchilleadar na *Seirrisdíneacha* do gach thaeb, ocus do mharbhadar in *méid* sin dibh innus nach deachaidh beo dona *Padanchaibh* uatha acht amhain ri Sibilie, ocus Altamaior³ ri Cordubie.⁴ Or do theithset maille becan do *Seirrisdíneachaibh* leo. Ocus do doirtead in *mhéid*⁵ sin d'fuil in la sin, innus co mad eidir leis na claitoiraibh snamh a bhfuil na *Padanach*. Do chuatar iarom na *Cristaighi* isin *cathair* istech, ocus do mharbhsat⁶ a bhfuaradar do *Seirrisdíneachaibh* innti. Ocus mar do chathaigh Serlus anaghaidh Agiolandus ar son an Creidimh *Cristaighi* ocus mar do mharbh se he, as follus co teit *dliged* na *Cristaighi* tar gach uili *dliged*, *et cetera*. O a *Cristaidhi*, da *connmhair*⁷ in creidium co maith ad *craidi* ocus a coimlinad d'oirbhrithibh cu firindeach⁸ airdeochthar thu os cinn na n-aingeal isin *fhlaithehnas* nemhda a bhfhochair do thighearna i. Isu *Crist*. Gidheadh cach a mad ail⁹ dul suas, creit gu daingen. Or adeir an Tighearna 'ata gach uile ní ar breith (*no comas*)¹⁰ don tí creitfes.'

'Na dhaigh sin do thinoil Serlus a shluagh ar mbeith ghairdechais mhoir air don bhuaigh ruc, ocus tainic gu droichet Arge¹¹ ar slighidh *San Sem*. Ocus is ann sin do rindi aidchideacht.¹²

AN TREAS SGEL DHEC ANN SO. F.

Ocus na dhaigh sin do chuaidh cuideachta dona *Cristaighibh* gan fhis do Sherlus cum an *inaid* a *tugad* in cath, ocus iat ar na mealladh¹³ do shaint spreidhi na marbh, an n-oighthi andiaigh in

1. ar lar H., E. & F. 2. eigmhe E. & F. 3. Altamaghor F
 4. Cornubia F., H. & E. 5. F. reads here and generally elsewhere *medi* for *méid*. E. also reads *mede* or *meide*. *Lis*, generally reads "met" but once or twice "méid." 6. dicennadar F. dicendadar H. dicendadh E
 7. *connmhais* *Lis*. 8. E. & F. omit last six words. 9. madh ailt F. & E. 10. *Lis*, writes these words in small letters over "breith." E., H. & F. both "ar cumas [comas H.] and omit "breith." 11. Airgi H. & F. Airge E. 12 Aigheacht E. Aidheacht F. aedaigeacht an oidche sin déis a coscair ruc H. 13. dalladh E.

and they faced one another and they fought hardily and vigorously. Arnold De Bellanda came on them^a first and inflicted great losses on them, right and left, until he reached Agiolandus in the midst of his people, and he drew out his sword and attacked Agiolandus and killed him. It was then shouts and great cries of slaughter and triumph arose^b amongst the Christians, and they surrounded the Saracens on every side and they slew of them all who were there^c so that there went not alive of the Paynims from them but only the King of Sibilie^d and Altamaior, King of Cordubia.^d For they fled with a few of the Saracens with them. And there was so much blood shed that the victors could have swum in the blood of the Paynims.

Afterwards the Christians entered the city and they slew all the Saracens that they found in it.

And as Charles warred against Agiolandus on behalf of the Christian faith, and as he slew him, so it is obvious that the law of the Christians goes beyond each and every law, *et cetera.*^e O Christian if thou keep the faith well in thy heart and fulfill it with works, truly thou shalt be exalted above the angels in the heavenly kingdom into the presence of thy Lord, even Jesus Christ. So then each [of you] who would desire to ascend—believe firmly, for the Lord saith everything is within the reach (or under the power) of him who shall^f believe.

After that, Charles collected his army, being greatly rejoiced at the victory he had obtained, and came to the bridge of Arge on the road to St. James. And it was there he made entertainment.^g

THIRTEENTH CHAPTER.

AND after that a company of the Christians went, unknown to Charles, to the place where the battle had been fought, they being beguiled by greed for the possessions of the slain, [going thither]

^airruit. ^b*Lit.* “were made.” ^c*Lit.* “that number of them,” “illos omnes.”

^d*Sibiliae Cordubiae i.e.* Seville and Cordova. ^eNo “etc.” in the Latin.

^fomnia possiblia sunt credenti. ^ghospitatus est.

chatha do thabhairt. Ocus ar mbreith oir ocus aircit ocus moran do neithibh uaisli ele do thoghadar fein do mhaithios na ndaine marbh leo [d'impaidhidar tar a n-ais F.] Ag impodh dhoibh cum a foslongphuirt fein aris, tarla Altumaior ri Cordubie¹ cona muinntir dhoibh.² Ar teitheadh dho³ as an cath remhraitti do bhadur ar na bhfolach a ngleanntuibh no gu tarla in drong sin *cucu*, ocus do innsaighedar iat ocus do marbhadar na Cristaighi co h-imlán, ocus ba headh⁴ do marbhadh ann a timceall *míle* fer.

As baramhail don bhuidhin sin⁵ na Cristaighi claires⁶ a pecaidh isin bhfaisidin ocus impaidios ar urailim in diabail cum na pecadh céadna aris. Or mar do impaigedar in drong ud ar gelodh a namhat do⁷ shaint spreighe na marbh, ocus do mharbhsat a namhait iat, as mar sin da gach uili Cristaighi claires⁶ a lochta fein ocus ghabhas penos⁸ ni dlighid do impod aris cum na marbh i.e. cum na pecadh, ar teitheadh co muirbhfitis a namad he i.e. na diabail. Ocus mar do impaigedar in drong ut cum sbreighi na ndaine ele ocus do leiceadur in betha so uatha ocus fuaradar fein bas anuasal, is mar sin in⁹ lucht uird leices in saeghal uatha ocus impadas¹⁰ aris cum na betha céadna,¹¹ leicit uatha in betha neamhdha ocus fillit iat fein a mbas na mbas.¹²

AN CEATRUMAD SGEL DHEC ANN SO.

La ele na dhiaigh sin do foillsigheadh do Sherlus gu *raibe* ar Sliabh Garsrem¹³ taiseach do thaiseachaibh Nauarrorum¹⁴ dar ainm Furre¹⁵ ocus gur b'ail leis cath do chommorad anaghaidh Serluis. Ocus ar teacht do Sherlus cum an tsléibhi sin do dheisig in prindsa sin¹⁶ he fein cum catha do thabhuirt do ar na mharach. Ocus in agaith roim in cath do rinne Serlus eadurghuighi [díchra H.] cum

1. Cornubia E., H. & F. passim. 2. dalladh E. 3. *noch* do theith roime sín a *cath* na Seirrisdineach ocus do bhadar ar na f." etc. E. The text of H. from the beginning of the chapter is quite differently arranged and shorter. 4. do be a nuimir E. & F. "do bé mét" H. 5. don da cuideachtain so E. don cuideachtain so H. 6. *noch* claidhius E. claidus F. claides H 7. tri F. tre E. 8. pinos cuigi F. aithreachas chuige E. H. omits. 9. don F. in E. 10. inntaighios E. indtaiges H. 11. betha an tshaeghal F. 12. *Lis.* has above the line the words "*vel* an bais." 13. Garsrime F. Gasrime H. Gasarinic E. 14. Nabarrorum F. H. omits. 15. Fnirre E., H. & F. 16. "sin" from E.

the night after the battle had been waged. And having taken [thence] with them gold and silver and many other precious things which they had chosen themselves of the goods of the slain they returned again. On returning to their own camp [however] Altumaior,^a King of Cordubia, with his people met them. Having fled from the afore-mentioned battle they were hiding in glens until this party fell in with them, and they attacked them and slew the Christians utterly. And the number they killed was about a thousand men.

A similitude to that band are those Christians who blot out^b their sin in confession and return at the bidding of the devil to the same sins again. For as that band returned,^c [to plunder] having defeated their enemies, out of greed for the posessions of the dead, and their enemies slew them, even so is it with every Christian who overcomes his own faults and accepts penitence;^d he ought not to turn again to the dead, that is to sins, flying till his enemy slay him, that is the devils. And just as that troop turned towards the possessions of the other people, and let this life go from them, and came themselves to an ignoble death, even so do those members of Orders who put the world away from them and yet turn again to the same life [as of old] let the heavenly life go from them and return themselves into the death of deaths.

FOURTEENTH CHAPTER.

ANOTHER day after that it was disclosed^e to Charles that there was on the mountain of Garsrem,^f one of the chiefs of the Navarri, whose name was Furre, and that he desired to give battle to Charles. And on Charles coming to that mountain the prince prepared himself to give battle to him on the morrow. And the night before the battle Charles made fervent intercession to God to show

^a i.e. Almanzor, King of Cordova. ^b Hi vero typum gerunt fidelium pro peccatis certantium sed postea ad vitia redeuntium quia sicut illi, etc.

^c ad mortuos redierunt. ^d poenitentiam accepit. ^e nunciatum est.

^f "Gargim" C. "Gargini" *Fr.*, a corruption of Montjardin according to Gaston Paris.

Dia ma a fhoillsiughad do cia da mhuinntr do ghebad bas isin cath ar na marach. Ocus do foillsighed comartha dearg a bhfighair na croichi cesda ar guallaibh na ndaine do bhi cum tuitme. Ocus mar do connuic Serluis an comurtha sin ar an droing sin do chuir fo iadhadh¹ iat an a shaipel² da seachna ar bas [annsa *cath.*³] As dothamaisc breitheamhnas De ocus is doi-eoluis a shligthi.⁴ Ar cri[c]hnughadh in chatha ocus ar marbhadh in phrinnsa dar ainm Furre maille tri *mile* Seirrisdíneach, in drong fhacuibh Serlus fo iadhadh fuair gan anmain iat; ocus is e lin do batar i. tri caogaid.⁵ O a claiteoire ro naemhtha gin gur ben claidheam bur n-aibirseora rib⁶ nir leiceabhair coroin na martireach uaibh. Ocus uadha so amach do thindscain Serlus sliabh Garsim⁷ ocus talamh Nauarrorum⁸ do bheith aigi fein.

AN CUIGED SGEL DHEC.

Na dhiaigh sin do foillsigheadh do Sherlus co tainicc eathach⁹ dar ainm Feireacutus do chenel Golias a crichibh na Sorcha ar na cur do Admiranntus¹⁰ i. ri na Baibiloine do chathughadh anaghaidh Serluis maille *fichit mile Padanach*. Ocus ase inadh a rabhatar in tan sin isin cathair re n-abar Folnagerus.¹¹ Ocus ni bhid eglagai na saigdi na airm eli ar in Seirsineach soin. Do cuaid Serlus a cedoир cum na cathrach sin ocus mar do cualaidh Fereacutus Serlus do thecht do chuaidh fein tar an cathraigh amach ocus do iar comrac aein fir. Do cuired o Sherlus in uair sin Ogerus cum an aithigh¹² ocus mar do connuic in t-aitheach e do dluthaigh chuicce¹³ ocus do ghlac ar laimh dheis he ocus ruc leis ar a mhuin cona armuibh, ocus a roibhe ann sin do shluaghuiibh aga fheithimh,

1. iadhuga E., with stroke over the g. iadad H. 2. inashepel E. thseipel F. H. omits. 3. Last two words from E. & F. 4. The last nine words are omitted in F., H. & E., which read cad (ca F.) tu do *Serlus*. H. "cidh tú," the equivalent of "quid plura." 5. .x. ocus secht .xx. F., H. & E. 6. do namat riut E. H. omits the whole sentence. 7. Thus E., H. & F. 8. Thus H., F. & E. *Lis*, reads "dfacbail do b.a.f." 9. athach E. ethach H. 10. adhmirandus F. & E. H. omits. 11. nagerus F., H. & E. 12. fathaigh E. 13. co min cuigi F. & E

him who of his people would die in the battle on the morrow. And there was revealed to him a red sign in the shape of the cross of crucifixion on the shoulders of the people who were to fall. And when Charles saw that sign on those people he locked them up in his chapel^a to avoid death for them in the battle. Inscrutable^b (?) is the judgment of God and unknowable^c are his ways. And on finishing the battle and slaying the prince whose name was Furre, together with three thousand Saracens, the people whom Charles had left shut up he found lifeless, and the number who were there was thrice fifty. O most holy victors,^d although no sword of your adversary touched you, ye did not put from you the martyr's crown. And from this out Charles began to possess to himself the mountain of Garsim and the land of the Navarri.^e

FIFTEENTH CHAPTER.

AFTER that it was disclosed^f to Charles that there had come a giant of the name of Feracutus^g of the race of Goliath from the lands of Sorcha,^h he being sent by Admirantus,ⁱ that was the King of Babylon, to fight against Charles with twenty thousand Pagans, and the place where they were at that time was the city which is called Fohnagerus.^j And that Saracen used to have no fear of spear or arrow or other weapon. Charles went to that city at once and when Feracutus heard that Charles had come he himself went out from the city and asked for single combat. Then there was sent by Charles, Ogerus^k against the giant, and when the giant saw him he came close to him^l and caught him by the right hand, and took him on his back with his weapons,—all the hosts that were there looking on,—and he never halted

^a in oratorio. ^b quam incomprehensibilia. ^c investigabiles. ^d o Christi pugnatorum sanctissima caterva. ^e Tunc Karolus cepit castrum montis Gargin in suum, totamque patriam Navarrorum. ^f Nunciatum.

^g Ferracutus in both the Latin texts. Pulci in his Morgante calls this giant Ferran. Elsewhere we find him called Ferragus. It is from this chapter that the Italian conception of Roland (Orlando) is derived. They also took Ferracutus or Ferragus as the type of a Saracen knight. Agrican, Mandricard and Rodomont are drawn from him as their prototype. See Castets' note on this chapter. ^h Lat. Syriae, see Gadelica, p. 274.

ⁱ Babilonis Admiraldus. ^j Both Latin texts read "Apud Nageram."

^k Ogerius Fr. Otgerius C. i.e. Ogier the Dane. ^l suaviter juxta illum vadit.

ocus nír an no gur chuir a *prisun* he, *amhail* chairigh cenuis.¹ Do batar imorro da fhedh dec isin aitheach sin ocus do b' adhbul fat a aighthe. Ocus do batur cethra bannlama an gach laimh ocus an gach *lurgain* d6, ocus tri ferdhuirn² in gach mher d'a mheraibh. Iarsin do cuir Serlus Renalldus³ de Alba Spina cum an aithigh, ocus do glac in t-aitheach ar laim he ocus *ruc* leis cum in *phrisuin* mar in *cét* duini.⁴ Do cuiredh iar sin Constantinus rí Romanach ocus Oellus⁵ iarla da insaigidh ocus do glac ar aeinshlighidh iat .i. duine dhibh da dheis ocus duine da cli, ocus do chuir isin prisún cedna iat. Do cuirthe iar sin dias gach n-uaire chuigi ocus do chuireadh isin prisun uili iat. Ar na faicsin sin do na sluaghaidh ocus ar mbeith ingantuis mhoir acu dhe, ni fhuair Serlus fer comraic dhó o sin suas.⁶ Do chonnuic Rolandus prinnsa shluaign Sherluis Mhoir nar leic a⁷ egl a dh'aenduine dul⁸ anaghaidh in aithigh. Ar mbeith dothcais aigi as a Dia fein, gin gu fuair sé *ced* tolstanach o Sherlus, ocus se⁹ daingen isin creidum do chuaidh se do cathughad ris in *Padanach*. Ocus do bhi egl a mor ar Serlus, or do bhi Rolandus og in uair sin, ocus do bo mian leis-sin a fosdadh, ocus do ghuigh a Thighearna um a shaeradh o laimh in aithigh amhail mar do rinne *Dabhid*¹⁰ o Ghlias ocus co tugad se sesmhad¹¹ do anaghaidh a namhat. Mar do connuic in t-aitheach Rolandus chuireadh tainig na choinne¹² ocus do glac he ocus do chuir ar a belaibh he da bhreith leis cum in *phrisuin*. Ar bhfhaghail fhurtachta ocus neirt o Dia do Rolandus do glac se in t-eathach co laidir ar smeic¹³ ocus do impo tar ais ar a ech é ocus do thuiteadar cum talman ar aeinshligid, ocus do eirghedar [araen F.] ar aeinshligid, ocus do chuatar ar a n-echaibh ocus do ben Rolandus a *claidheamh* amach dar ainm Durendalis¹⁴ ocus tuc builli cum in aithigh ocus do gherr a ech ar dhó. Ar mbeith d'Ferreacutus da chois do bhi a *claidheamh* nocth in a laimh ocus

1. *amhail* do *bheith* caera romin aige F. & E. H. has "co caerham," with stroke over the m, which seems wrong. 2. Thus *Lis.* & H. *seadhduirn* F. & E. 3. *rolandus* E. *renallus delbaspina* H. 4. F. and E. omit "duini." H. has "docum an prisuin c." 5. *hocillus* E., H. & F. 6. do obadar a comrac osin amach H. 7. an F., H. & E. 8. *dula Lis.* dol H. 9. e E. & F. H. omits these words. 10. do saeradh dabith (danidh H.) o Gailias F. (Golias H.) Guilius F. 11. co tuca se sesmach e E. H. omits. 12. do *chuir* a laimh ann E. 13. sic *Lis.* & H. *smeig* F. & E. 14. *dubrendalis* H.

till he had placed him in prison like a gentle sheep.^a Twelve fathoms in height was that giant, and huge was the length of his face. And there were four cubits in each hand and in each shin^b of him, and [the bulk of?] three men's fists in each of his fingers. After that Charles sent Renaldus^c de Alba Spina to the giant, and the giant caught him by the hand and bore him with him to the prison like the first man. After that there were sent Constantinus, a Roman king,^d and Earl^e Oellus to him, and he caught them both together,^f one of them in his right and the other in his left hand, and he put them into the same prison. There were sent after that in couples to him each time, and he used to put them all in prison. When the hosts beheld that, they being greatly amazed at it, Charles found no man to do battle with him from that out. Roland,^g the prince of Charles the Great's army, saw that fear did not permit any man to go against the giant. He having trust in his own God,^h albeit he got no willing leave from Charles,ⁱ and being firm in the faith,^h went to battle with the Paynim. ⁱAnd Charles was in great fear, for Roland was young at that time, and he wished to stop him, and he besought the Lord to save him out of the hand of the giant, as he saved David from Goliath, and that he might give him [power] to stand against his enemy.^j

When the giant saw Roland coming towards him, he came to meet him and seized him, and put him in front of him to carry him with him to the prison. But Roland receiving relief and help from God seized the giant powerfully by the chin, and turned him backwards upon his steed, and they fell to the ground together, and they arose together, and mounted their steeds [again], and Roland drew his sword whose name was Durendalis,^j and gave a blow to the giant and cut his horse in two. And Feracutus being on foot had his sword naked in his hand and threatened

^a mitissima ovis. "cennuis" = "cennsa" ? ^b brachia et crura. C. Not in *Fz.* ^c Rainaldus. ^d Rex Romanus. ^e Comes. ^f Literally "on one way," the expression *ar aeinsligid* is used in this and cognate texts in the meaning of "together." *Lat.* "ambo pariter." ^{g-h} Not in the Latin. ^{h-h} Not in Latin. ⁱ⁻ⁱ Not in the Latin. ^j The Latin texts do not mention the name of the sword.

do rinne bagar ar Rolandus ocus do buail Rolandus do *claidheamh* he ocus ni derna urchoid do. Gidheadh do theilg a *claidheamh* as laimh in aithigh. Ocus ar ndul a *claidhimh* uadha tuc dorn d' innsaigidh Rolandus ocus do bhual a ech 'na hedan ocus do thuit si cum *talmhan* ocus fuair bas.¹ Ocus 'na dhiaigh sin do bhatar araen da cois gan *claidheamh* ag cehtar dhibh, ag *cathughad* le *clochaibh*² ocus le a ndornuibh go noin. Ocus ar techt don esbertain cuca fuair Ferreacutus osad comhraic o Rolandus. Ocus do orduigheadar etorra fein co tictaitis³ ar na marach chum a cheili gan eich gan arm, ocus do aentuigheadar in ní sin, ocus do impo gach neach da arus fein acu in *agaid* [leg. *adaig*] sin. Ocus tancatar cu moch⁴ ar na mharach a coinne a chele da cois mar do ghealladar, ocus tuc Ferreacutus *claidheamh* leis, ocus nír fhodhuin⁵ dó, or ruc Rolandus bata⁶ fada *remhar* leis ocus do bhi ac *cathughad* leis in mbata fedh in lai. Gidheadh ni derna urchóid d' Ferreacutus. Ar bhfaghail osaid o Rolandus d'Ferreacutus do ghabh codladh mor he. Ocus ar mbeith isin codladh sin don flir mhor do chuir Rolandus [i. an macam og uasal sin],⁷ cloch fo n-a chenn innus cu mad usaidi dho codladh do denam, ocus nir lamh *Cristaigi* [annsa doman an uair sin⁸] a dhith do dhenam. Or do bhi nos eaturra gebe don dá droing sin do *Christaighibh no* do Seirrisdín-eachaibh do bherad osad da cheli nach dingentai urchóid etorra, ocus da mbrisedh neach in t-osad sin roimh a ré a bhasughadh a cedoир.

Ar n-eirghi d'Ferreacutus as a chodladh do shuidh⁹ Rolandus laimh ris, ocus do fhiar/*aigh* de¹⁰ cinnus do bi se a com arrachta sin ocus a comh cruidh nach roibhe egl aigi roim *claidheamh* na roimh cloich na roim arm ele.¹¹ Adubhaint in fer mor "ni h-eidir fuiliughad orum acht am' imleagan."¹² Ar na clos sin do

1. cum *lair* ocus do chuaidh a hanum aiste E. 2. E. & F. omit *clochaibh*. H. has "can arm acht a nduirnn." 3. The last few lines are differently phrased in F. & E. 4. annsa camair F. conair E. 5. comain do E. H. omits. 6. ni ruc Rolandus ach bata fada reamar leis E. 7. Last five words from E. & F. 8. Last five words from F. E. & F. read after that "a marbhadh. H. turns the sentence quite differently and reads buain ris. 9. druid E. & H. 10. E. adds co companta. H. mar companach. 11. na roim arm ele sa domhan E. 12. am imlecan F. & E. imlecan H. E. adds "amháin."

Roland, and Roland smote him with his sword but did him no hurt, howbeit he knocked the sword out of the giant's hand. And when his sword went from him he made a blow with his fist at Roland and struck his horse in the face, and it fell to the ground and died.^a And after that they were both on foot, and neither of them had a sword, fighting with stones and with their fists until noon. And when evening came to them Feracutus got a truce from Roland. And they arranged it between themselves that they would come to one another on the morrow without horses or arms, and they agreed to that, and each of them returned to his own abode that night.

And they came against one another early on the morrow on foot, as they had promised, and Feracutus brought a sword with him, and it did not help him, for Roland had brought a long thick staff^b with him and he kept fighting with the staff throughout the day. He did no hurt, however, to Feracutus. As soon as Feracutus got a truce from Roland a heavy sleep seized him. And when the big man was in that sleep Roland, that noble young scion, put a stone under his head, so that it might be the easier for him to sleep, and no Christian in the world at that time ventured to hurt him. For there was a custom among them that whichever of the two sides, Christian or Saracen, might grant a truce to the other, no hurt should be done on either side,^c and if one of them were to break that truce before its time he was to be put to death at once.

On Feracutus rising out of his sleep, Roland sat beside him and asked him how it was he was so powerful, and so hardy that he was afraid of neither sword nor stone nor any other weapon. The big man answered "it is not possible to wound me except in the navel." When Roland heard that he held his peace, as though he did not understand him, and he turned his ear away

^a Thus Oliver's horse in the story of Fortibras is struck between the eyes and killed. R.C. XIX., p. 40.

^b *Lit.* "stick." *Lat.* baculum.

^c *Lit.* "between them."

Rolandus do thoct se mar nach tuicfedh¹ he ocus do impo a cluas uadha. Ocus do labhair in t-aitheach² tenga na Spainne ris ocus do thuic Rolandus he co math.³ Do fhegh in fer mor ar Rolandus ocus do fhiafraigh a ainm dhc.⁴ “Rolandus mh’ ainm,” ar se. Do fhiafraigh in fer mor “ga cene luid o chathaighe am aghaidh-si a comh laidir sin, or ní fhuaras riamh conuigi so neach do chuirfed egl a orm.” “Do chenel na *Frangcach* dam,” ar Rolandus, “ocus mac derbhshethar⁵ do Sherlus Mhor me.” Adubhairt Ferreacutus, “cred he [recht no H.] dlidet na *Frangcach*”? Do fhreagair Rolandus, “Dlidet Crist maille na grasaibh⁶ ata againn,” ar se, “ocus atamait fo impireacht Crist ocus cathuighmit ar son a chreidim in meit shetmuid.” Adubhairt in *Padanach*, ar cluinsin anma Crist dó, “Cia in Crist ut an a creittisi”? Adubhairt Rolandus “Mac do Dia athair,” ar se, “rucadh o’n óigh; do cesad san croich, do cuired san adlacadh, do eirigh a cinn in treas la on adhlacad, do chuaidh ar deis an athar neamhda.” Adubhairt in *Padanach* “creidim⁷ gurub e cruthaigh-theoir nimhe ocus talmhan Dia,⁸ gidheadh ni raibh mac aigi na athair. Acht mar nar geineadh e fein o einneach is mar sin nar gein se nech. Mar sin is aenda ata Dia ocus ni ’na thriur.”⁹ Adubhairt Rolandus “is fir gurub aenda ata Dia, gidheadh in tan adeiri nach ful se trithach atai dall isin credium,” ocus adubhairt Rolandus “ma creidi isin athair creid isin mac ocus isin Spiorad naomh, or is Dia in t-athair fein, ocus Dia in mac, ocus Dia in Spiorad naomh i.¹⁰ aeinndia marthanach a tri persanuibh he.” “Adeiri,” ar¹¹ Ferreacutus, “in t-athair do beith ’na Dhia ocus in mac do beith ’na Dhia ocus in Spiorad naomh do beith ’na Dhia, ma aseadh as tri dee ata ann ocus ni hein Dia.” “Ni headh idir,” ar Rolandus, “acht ein-dia trithach adeirim rit, ocus ata se aenda ocus¹² trithach ocus atait na tri persain sin comhimplán com-marthanach comchudrama dhoibh fein, i. mar ata¹³ an t-athair

1. do rinne sc tocht mar nach tuicfeadh se tenga na *Seirrisdineach* E. H. reads nearly the same. 2. do labhair tenga na Spaine reis in athach E. H. nearly the same. 3. F. & H. omit last seven words. 4. do fiafraigh ca hainm thusa a cristraighe E. H. nearly the same. 5. derbhshethar E. 6. grasaibh Dia E., F. & H. 7. creidmidne E. & H. 8. aendia cumachtach E. H. id, omitting “aen.” 9. is aendia ata ann ocus ni ina triar ata E., H. & F., but F. leaves out “ina” and “ata.” 10. “ocus” E. *Lis.* writes above the line *vel et* as an alternative reading. 11. arsi Fer. F., E. & H. 12. F., H. & E. omit “ocus.” H. has trithtech passim. 13. mar a ful F.

from him.^a And the giant spoke to him in the language of Spain, and Roland understood him well. The big man looked at Roland and asked him his name. "Roland is my name," said he. The big man asked him, "what race are you of, that you fight against me so powerfully? for I never found so far a person to make me afraid." "Of the race of the Franks am I," said Roland, "and I am a sister's son of Charles the Great."^b Feracutus asked, "what is the religion or law^c of the Franks?" Roland answered, "the law of Christ with his graces we have," said he, "and we are under the empire of Christ, and we fight for his religion, in so far as we can." On hearing the name of Christ the Pagan asked, "who is that Christ in whom ye believe?" Roland answered, "a Son of God the Father," said he, "who was born of the Virgin, who suffered on the cross, who was laid in the grave, who rose from the grave at the end of the third day, who went [to sit] on the right hand of the heavenly Father." Said the Paynim, "I believe that God is the creator of heaven and earth, but he had neither son nor father. For as he was not himself begotten of any body, even so has he not begotten any one. Consequently God is one-fold and not three." Roland said, "it is true that God is one-fold, howbeit when you say that he is not three-fold you are blind in the faith," and Roland said "if you believe in the Father, believe in the Son, and in the Holy Spirit, for the Father himself is God, and the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit God: one God everlasting in three persons is he." "You say," said Feracutus, "that the father is God, and the son God, and the Holy Spirit God, if so there are three Gods, and not one God." "Not so at all," said Roland, "but I speak to you of one three-fold God, and He is one and threefold, and those three persons are equally perfect, equally everlasting, co-equal with each other,

^a These twenty-three words are not in the Latin texts. ^b Last ten words are not in the Latin texts. ^c lex.

ata in mac, ocus ata in *Spiorad naomh*. Ata dilseacht¹ is na persanuibh ocus aendacht² isin substaint³ ocus an a mhordhacht. Guighter⁴ co cudrama .i. Dia trithach ocus aenda guigid na h-aingil ar nim, ocus do connuic Abraham a tri ocus do ghuigh a haen.” “Foillsigh sin dam,” ar an t-aitheach, “cinnus do bheitis tri neithe an a n-aein ní.” “Foillseochat duit é,” ar Rolandus ar na neithibh ocus ar na creatuiribh daenna⁵ .i. mar atait tri neithi isin clairsigh in tan do beir foghur .i. ealadha ocus teda ocus lamha ; is mar sin ata a tri a nDia .i. an t-athair ocus in mac ocus in *Spiorad naom*, ocus is aein Dia iad. Ocus mar atait tri neithi isin cnai .i. croiceann ocus blaesc⁶ ocus etne, ocus ni fuil acht aen cnu ann sin [is mar sin atait *tri* persanna a nDia ocus aen Dia ata ann, F. & E.], ocus atait tri neithi isin grein .i. solus⁷ ocus dealrad ocus tes, gidheadh as aen *ghrian* sin.⁸ Ocus atait tri neithi a roth na cartach⁹ ocus is aen chait sin. Ocus atait tri *neithi* innat fein .i. corp ocus anam ocus baill, ocus is aen nduine thu. Is mar sin adeirur aendacht ocus trithacht¹⁰ do *beith* a nDia.” Adubhaint Ferreacutus “tuicimanois Dia do *beith* aenda ocus trithach, ocus ní thuicim cinnus do ghein an t-athair mac mar adeiri-si.”¹¹ Adubhaint Rolandus “in creidi gurab é Dia do rinne Adam.”¹² “Creidim,” ar sé.¹³ Adubhaint Rolandus “amhail mar ata Adam ar na *geinemhain* do neifni, gidheadh do ghein se meic, is mar sin ata Dia athair gan *geinemhain* o ein neach. Gidheadh do gein se mac gu diadha do-innisdi, roimh in uili aimsir, uaidh fein, mar do b’ ail leis.” Adubhaint in t-eathach “is maith lim,” ar se, “gach ní adeiri. Gidheadh cinnus do rinni an nech is Dia ann¹⁴ mac, ataim *ainmhafesach*¹⁵ gu h-uilidhi ann.” Adubhaint Rolandus “in te do rinne nemh ocus *talagh* do neifni ocus gach ní da bfuil innta is e do rinne mac do *geinemhain* isin oigh gan *adbhar* daena acht o anail *coiseartha*¹⁶ in *Spiruta naimh*.” “Is

1. disleacht E. disle H. atait dislithi . . . aenda F. 2. subaltaigh E. 3. guidhit F. guidh co c iat H. 4. *Lis.* has daena. 5. plaesg F. plaesc H. 6. gile H., F. & E. 7. ata ann F. & E. iat H. 8. cairti F. 9. aenda ocus trithach F. tredacht H. 10-10. Omitted in F. 11. adhamh. 12. ar an fer mor H. 13. noch is dia ann F. & E. 14. ainmisech F. ainbhafessach E. 15. coisrica F. coisecra E.

that is as the Father is, so the Son is, and so the Holy Spirit is. There is propriety in the persons^a and unity in the substance and in His greatness. They are equally prayed to, namely, it is to God three-fold and one the angels in heaven pray, and Abraham saw [him as] three and prayed to [him as] one." "Explain to me," said the giant, "how three things^b could be one thing." "I will," said Roland, "both in things and^c in human creatures, namely, how there are three things in the harp when it sounds, namely art, strings and hands, so there are three in God, namely the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, yet they are one God. And as there are three things in the nut, namely husk, shell and kernel,^d yet there is only one nut there, even so are there three persons in God and yet there is only one God; and there are three things in the sun, light, glare and heat,^e although there is only one sun. And there are three things in the wheel of a cart, yet that is one cart,^f and there are three things in yourself, namely body and soul and members, and yet you are one person, even so is it said that there is a oneness and a threeness in God." Feracutus answered, "I understand now that God is one and three-fold, but I do not understand how the Father begot a Son as you say." Roland said, "Do you believe that it was God who made Adam" ? "I do," said he. Said Roland, "just as Adam was created out of nothing, and yet he begat sons, even so is God the Father unbegotten by any one. And yet he begat a son, divinely, ineffably, before all time, from himself, as he desired." Said the giant, "I like," said he, "everything you say, yet how did he who is God make a Son ? I am utterly ignorant^g of that." Said Roland, "he who made heaven and earth out of nothing, and everything that is in them, it is he who begat a Son in the Virgin without human material, but from the consecrating breath of the Holy

^a "In personis est proprietas, in essentia est unitas." *Proprietas* is here translated by *dilseacht* or *disleacht* (the same word). "Dilse a fhrainn do thabhairt do," means to give one true and undisputed possession of land.

^b qualiter tria unum sint. ^c The last four words not in the Latin text.

^d in amigdola, corium testa et nucleus. ^e candor splendor calor.

^f There is evidently something omitted here. The three things in the wheel, nave, spokes, and tyre (or fellies), are left out. The second "cart" should be "wheel." Castet's Latin has "medius (Fr. modius) brachia et circulus." ^g penitus ignoro.

air¹ sin shaethraighim," ar in fer mor, "cindus do gheinfedh² mac a mbroin oigh gan sil³ duine mar adeiri." Adubhairt Rolandus "Dia do chruthaigh Adam gan sil duine ele, do rinne se a mac fein do geinemhain on oigh gan sil duine. Ocus mar do geineadh o Dhia athair é gan duini airithi⁴ aigi is mar sin do geineadh o n-a mathair he gan duini na athair aigi. Or is mar sin do ba deaghmhaiseach mac De."⁵ ⁶Adubhairt Ferreacutus "is mor is nar lim a radh gu ngeinfidhi o'n oigh gan duine."⁶ Adubhairt Rolandus "in té do beir in gas ponair as in ngráinne ocus dobeir piasta as na grainnibh⁷ ocus do ní na heisc ocus na beich [do] geinemhuin gan sil duine,⁸ do rinde se in ogh do gheineamhain Dia ocus duini gan sil feardha⁹ ocus gan truailleadh da corp, ocus do rinni an céd duine mar a dubhart gan sil¹⁰ duine ele. Do b'urasa do cu ngeinfeadh a mhac fein on oigh gan sil daena." Adubhairt Ferreacutus "as maith as eidir gu ngeinfidhi o'n oigh, gidheadh mad do ba mac¹¹ De é nir b' eidir leis bas d'fághail¹² [annsa croich mar adubhartais F. & E.] Or ni fhaghant Dia bas choighthi."¹³ "As maith adeiri" ar Rolandus "gur bh' eidir a gheinemhain o'n oigh, ocus mar rucadh mar dhuine he do b'eidir leis bas d'fághail mar dhuine. Or gach nech gheinter mar dhuine do gheibh bas mar dhuini. Or ma 's increitti¹⁴ da gheinemhain as increitti da bas ocus da eiseirghi." Adubhairt Ferreacutus "cinnus as incheitti da eserghi"? Adubhairt Rolandus: "fuair se bas ocus do h-aithbeoadh he in treas la."¹⁵ Ot cualaith Ferreacutus sin do rindi ingnad mor¹⁶ dhe ocus adubhairt re Rolandus, "Cred uma labrai in méid¹⁷ sin do briatraighe dimhaine rim, or ni h-eidir duine marbh do thabhairt chum betha arís." Adubhairt Rolandus "Ni hé mac Dé amhain do eiseirigh o mharbhuibh acht an uili dhuine o thús in domhain gu crich na betha, atait siat cum na heiseirghi coitcinne¹⁸ a bhfhiadhnuisi in breithemhan d'fághail a

1. aire E. Is trid .s. F. is aire sin machtnaigim H. 2. geinfidh E.
 3. silne E. silni F. 4. duine na athair F., E. & H. 5. Dia E. & F.
 6-6. Omitted in E. 7. annsna cnoaibh E. 8. gan silne ferrdha
 F. & E. 9. gan silne daena E. 10. gan truailleadh silne E. 11. damadh
 mac E. 12. dfághail do shir. 13. co brach F. do sír H. 14. ma
 creidi E. m. credi F. 15. "in nech fuair bas ocus do haithbeoghadh
 in treas la" E. & H. is increitti a nech fuair bas do eirigh se a.t.l. F. 16. E.
 adds agus machtnughadh romhor. 17. meide E. meidi F. 18. This word
 from E. only.

Spirit." "It is this [point] I am labouring over,"^a said the big man, "how he could beget a son in the womb of a Virgin without human seed, as you say." Said Roland, "God who created Adam without the seed of any other person begot his own Son from the Virgin without man's seed, and as he was begotten of God the Father without his having any human father,^b even so was he begotten of his mother without any human father. For thus it befitted the Son of God."^c Said Feracutus, "I think it a great shame^d to say that there could be begotten [a son] from the Virgin without a person." Said Roland, "he who brings the bean-stalk^e out of the grain, and brings worms out of the grains, and generates the fish and the bees without male seed—he brought it to pass^f that the Virgin brought forth God and man without male seed and without defilement of her body, and he made the first man, as I have said, without the seed of anyone else; it was easy for him that he should beget his own son from the Virgin without human seed." Said Feracutus, "it is quite possible that he might be begotten of the Virgin, however if he was the son of God he could not have died on the cross as you have said, for God never dies." "You say well," said Roland, "that he might have been begotten of the Virgin, and as he was born as a man he might die as a man, for every person who is born as a man dies as a man, for, if his birth is credible, his death and resurrection are credible also." Said Feracutus, "how is his resurrection credible"? Said Roland, "He died and the third day he was brought to life again." When Feracutus heard that, he made great marvel of it, and said to Roland, "why speak you so many vain words to me, for it is not possible to bring a dead man to life again." Roland answered, "it is not the Son of God alone who rose again from the dead, but every person from the beginning of the world to the end of the world they must to the general

^a in hoc labore. ^b Thus E., F. and H. The Latin texts are not clear either, "sicut de Deo patre nascitur nascitur sine matre." ^c *Lit.* "was the Son of God very handsome." ^d "valde erubesco." ^e qui fabac gurgulionem et arbori et glisci facit gignere vermem. ^f *Lit.* "made."

tuarastail do reir a n-uilc *no* a maitheasa.¹ Agus ar an adhbar sin Dia fein do rindi *no*² doní in crann beg do chur a bhfhas ard, ocus doní in grainne cruithneachta ar³ lobhadh ocus ar bhfhaghail báis a talumh d'aithbheedhadh aris ocus do thabhairt toraidh,⁴ do ghena in Dia cedna sin an uili dhuine a n-a collnaibh dilse fein, ocus a n-a spirutaibh d'athbheedhadh o bhas co bethaidh don ló dheighineach." Ocus adubhairt Rolandus "gabh chugat nadúir in leoghaín, or mar do ní in leomhan a chuilein d'aithbheedhughadh le n-a anail a cind in treas la ca hingnád gur aithbeoagh Dia athair⁵ a mac fein a cinn in treas la o mharbhuibh. Ocus ní réd nua re tuicsin⁶ duit *co ndechaidh* mac De o bhás co bethaidh ór do aithbeoagh se moran do mharbhuibh roim a eseirghi. Or mar do mhúsgail Elias ocus Eleseus⁷ co h-urasa moran do mharbhaibh, do b' usa ina sin do Dia a mac fein do mhusgladh o mharbhuibh.⁸ Adubhairt Ferreacutus "do chím gu maith gach ní adeiri, ocus cinnus do chuaidh ar nimh mar adubhrais ni thuicim he."⁹

Adubhairt Rolandus "in nech thainic anuas do nimh do b' urusa dho dhul suas arís, ocus in nech do eirigh o mharbhaibh uaidh fein, do b' urusa leiss dul ar nimh. Ocus gabh cugat sompla¹⁰ morain do neithibh, or do chí roth in mhuiilinn in mhéid teit sé o uachtar co h-ichtar co teit sé in méid sin o ichtar co h-uachtar. Or da ndeachtha fein o uachtar co hichtar cnuic do budh eidir let aris dul isin sligidh chéadna suas,¹¹ ocus do eirigh in grian toir ane ocus do chuaidh thiар fai,¹² maiseadh an t-inad as a tainig mac Dé do chuaidh se ann aris."

Adubhairt Ferreacutus "do ghen cathughadh rit ar an adbhar¹³ sin, ocus ma 's fir an creidemh sin adeiri-si biat-sa claiti, ocus ma 's¹⁴ breag he beir-si claiti, ocus biaidh tathair¹⁵ mharthanach don chinedh claitidhear, ocus biaidh moladh ocus anoir don claiteoir do shír."

1. ma ngnimarthaiibh masa maith *no* masa olc do rinne gach duine F. mar do tuilledar H. 2. Noch doni F. doní H. 3. doni, E. omitting the first "doni." 4. a thoraidh E. 5. Dia uile cumachtach E. 6. ni red bec re na faicsin E. asotuicsina duit F. ni bec re faicsin H. a fasad H. 7. Elieseus H. 8. E. adds agus do rinne Mac De moran do dhusacht roimh a bhas Ma seadh is mo na sin do beidir leis fein eiseirge o marbaibh E. F. & H. are almost identical with this. 9. ataim ainmfisech co mor ann F. E. & H. reads almost the same. 10. an eisimplair H. samla E. 11. tarais E. 12. F. omits last twelve words. E. reads "a folach" for "fai." 13. cunnradh F. & E. 14. Masa F. & E. 15. taithir F.

resurrection in the presence of the Judge, to get their reward according to their evil or their good. And for that reason God himself who made or makes^a the little tree to grow up high, and who makes the grain of wheat after rotting and dying in the earth to come to life again and to bring forth fruit, this same God shall cause every person to be revived from death to life in their own proper bodies and spirits at the last day." And Roland said, "take the nature of the lion, for as the lion brings its whelps to life again with its breath at the end of the third day, what wonder that God the Father brought to life his own son at the end of the third day from the dead. And it is no new thing for you to understand that the Son of God went from death to life, for He brought to life many who were dead before his resurrection. For as Elijah and Elisha^b easily awoke many dead, it was easier than that for God to waken his own son from the dead." Said Feracutus, "I well see everything you say, but how he went up to heaven, as you say, I do not understand that."

Roland answered, "He who came down from heaven, it was easy for him to go up again, and he who rose of himself from the dead, it were easy for him to go to heaven. And consider^c the example of many [other] things, for you see the mill wheel, as it goes from overhead to underneath, so it goes from underneath to overhead. For if you were yourself to go from the top to the bottom of a hill, you would be able again to go up by the same way. And the sun rose in the east yesterday and went under in the west, and so the place out of which the Son of God came, there he went again."

Feracutus said, "I shall fight you on that matter and if that faith you talk of is true I shall be overthrown, and if it is false you shall be overthrown, and lasting disgrace shall be to the race which shall be overthrown, and praise and honour for ever to the victor."

^a crescere fecit *Fr.* facit *C.* ^b Helias et Helisaeus. ^c *Lit.* "take to yourself," "tibi sume," both the Latin texts add to these instances "avis volans in aere quantum descendit tantum ascendit."

"Bidh amlaigh sin," ar Rolandus.

Ocus do ullmhaigh¹ gach nech acu cum in comraic ocus do chathaigh Rolandus co feardha i n-aghaidh in *Phadanaigh*. Tuc Ferreacutus builli *claidhlmh* cum *Rolandus* ocus do fhill Rolandus da thaeibh clé, ocus do dhín é fein ar cur an bhata etorra ocus in *claidheamh*, ocus do *gearradh* bata *Rolandus* don builli sin, ocus do loigh² in t-aitheach ar Rolandus. Ocus ar na aithne do Rolandus nar bh' eidir leis dul uaidh ar aen chor, do ataign³ furtacht mheic Muire. Ocus mar do *dheonaigh* Dia dhó do thocaibh se in t-aitheach dhe began ocus do ghlac a *claidheamh* ocus do ghon sé in fear mor 'na imlinn ocus is mar sin do therna⁴ uadha. Do éigh an fer mor co hard ocus do ghoir a dhia fein da fhurtacht .i. Macametus. Ar na clos sin do na *Padanchaibh* tancatar da *innsaigidh* ocus rucsat leo é cum na cathrach ocus do chuaidh Rolandus slan cum a mhuinntiri fein.⁵

Ar na *faicsin* sin do Sherlus do chuaidh cum na cathrach ocus do gab hi ocus do mharbh in fer mor innti ; ocus na *Cristaighi* do bhi a *mbraighdinus* isin tor ruc leis iat.

AN VI. SGEL DHEAG ANN SO.

Beacan aimsiri 'na dhiaigh sin do foillsigheadh do *Sherlus*⁶ cu roibhi ri Sibilie ocus Altumaior ri Cordubia⁷ isin cathraigh darab ainm Cordubani⁸ Ebraim ac *fuireach* ris cum catha do thabhairt do, ocus do b' iat sin na righa do theith roime a cath cathrach na Pampilone.⁹ Ocus do ullmaigh¹⁰ Serlus do dhul cum catha na n-aghaidh. Ocus ar ndul do Sherlus a bhfocus do Cornubani¹¹ do chuatar na righa remhraitti cona *sluaghaibh* armtha éidighthi a coinne Serlus tri mhili on chathair. Ocus do bhatar¹² na *Seirrisdinigh* a timcheall .xx. *mile*,¹³ na *Cristaighi* umorro se *mile*. Ocus do rinne Serlus dronga da mhuinntir. An ced drong¹⁴

1. deisigh E. 2. dolaigh E. 3. daitcidh E. do bi f.m.M. air E. H. is illegible. 4. *terno* F. & E. 5. *Lis.* omits "fein." 6. don impir *grasamhail* F & E., which omits "do foillsigheadh." 7. cornubia E. & F. H. is illegible. 8. Cornubani F. 9. Babilone F. 10. *dheisigh* F. & E. 11. Cornubia F. & E. 12. do biad nuimir do badar E. 13. .x. m. H., F. & E. 14. *cuid* F. & E.

"Let it be so,"^a said Roland.

And each of them made ready for the battle, and Roland fought manfully against the Paynim. Feracutus gave a sword blow to Roland, and Roland bent to the left and protected himself by putting the staff between himself^b and the sword. And Roland's staff was cut in two by that blow, and the giant pressed in on Roland. And on Roland's recognizing that he could not escape from him in any way, he prayed for the succour of the Son of Mary. And as God willed it for him he shook^c the giant a little from him, and seized his sword and wounded the big man in the navel, and it was thus he escaped from him. The big man cried aloud and called on his own God, namely Mahomet, to help him. When the Paynims heard that, they came to him and carried him off with them to the city, and Roland went safe to his people.

When Charles saw that, he went to the city and took it, and slew the big man in it, and the Christians who were in captivity in the tower he carried off with him.

SIXTEENTH CHAPTER.

A SHORT time after that it was shown to Charles that the King of Sibilie^d and Altumaior,^e King of Corduba, were in the city whose name is Cordubani Ebraim,^f waiting for him, to give him battle. These were the kings who had fled before out of the battle of the city of Pampilone.^g And Charles made ready to do battle with them. And as Charles came near to Cornubani^h the aforesaid kings with their hosts in arms and armour came against Charles three miles out from the city. And the Saracens were about twenty thousand,ⁱ the Christians however were [only] six thousand. And Charles made separate bands of

^a fiat. ^b *Lit.* "between them." ^c *Lit.* "raised" "erexit se et revolvit eum subter se." ^d *i.e.* Seville. ^e *i.e.* Almanzor. ^f *apud* Cordubam Ebrahim C. Ebraim *Fr.* *i.e.* Cordova. ^g *i.e.* Pampeluna. ^h *Lat.* Cordubani.

ⁱ The Latin texts have ten thousand, so have E. & F.

dhibh do dainibh laidiri derbhitha ; in dara *drong*, coisighi ; in treas *drong*, ridiri.

Do ronsat na *Seirrisdínigh* mar an céadna tri dronga dha *muinntir*. Ocus do urail Serlus in ced drong da *muinntir* fein do dul anaghaidh na ced droingi dona *Padanachaibh*. Tangatar na *Seirrisdínigh* anaghaidh na *Cristaighi* ocus gach aen dibh maille *re haighthibh*¹ adhuathmura tacair, ocus siat adharcach fesocach cosmhail ris na *diablaibh* [a n-a cruth ocus i n-a ndeilbh ocus a n-a suaitheantas tachair, ocus b'adhbhur bidga ocus *gráine* do *feraibh* in domain féchain ocus *silleadh* ar a suaicintusaibh dofaisneisi in inbaigh sin E.] ocus sais a *cosmhailius* tabur 'na lamhaibh aga mbualadh² co laidir. Ar cluinsin ghothann ocus fhoghor [ocus mongair E.] na n-eidighi [ndraigheachta E.] sin d'echaibh na *Cristaighi* ocus ar bhfaicsin na *cosmhaile*³ adhuathmhar sin, do ghabh egla [ocus uaman E.] mor iat, ocus do impoideadar tar a n-ais mar do bheidis [ar dasacht ocus E.] ar buili, ocus nir bh'eidir leis na ridiribh a *conumhail* [na a fastogh E.] ar aen chor. Ocus mar do conncadur in da droing ele do na *Cristaighibh* an céd drong ag teitheadh [cucu E.] do theithedar fein [co himlan E.] leo. Ar n-a faicsin sin do Sherlus do *ghab* ingantus mor he no gur aithin in t-adbar fa ar theithset, ocus do *ghab* gairdeachas ro mhor na *Padanacha* de sin, ocus do leanadur na *Cristaighi* gu cruaidh no gu rangatur laimh re sliabh mor. Ocus is bec nach roibh⁴ in sliabh sin da mhili on cathair remraidti. Ocus do chothaighedar⁵ na *Cristaighi* ann sin cum catha do thabhairt dona *Padanachaibh*. Ocus ar n-a fhaicsin sin dona *Padanachaibh* do chuadar becan tar a n-ais ocus do shuighedar na *Cristaighi* a foslongport ann sin, ocus do batar ann in agaidh sin.⁶ Isin madain ar na marach ar ndenumh chomhairli do Sherlus do *fhurail* ar a lucht cathaighthi cind a n-ech d' folach le h-edach indus nach *faicdis*⁷ na clesa adhuathmhura do ronsat na *Padhanaigh* in la roimhe sin, ocus do urail cluasa a n-ech dh' iadhadh innus nach *cluindis*⁸ foghair

1. haitibh coimecha a. E. 2. ag a combualadh co hallmurdha E.
 3. na naidhce nadhuathmara naimdeamhla E. 4. nach rabadar insliabh sin da mile on cathair roime sin E., which seems nonsense, but H. which is here nearly illegible seems to read the same. 5. cothaidar F. illegible in H. 6. co tainic la ar na marach E. 7. faicfidis E. faicdais F.
 8. cluinfidhdis E.

his people. The first band was of strong and proven men, the second band of foot soldiers, the third band was of knights.*

The Saracens in like manner made three separate bands of their people. And Charles ordered the first band of his people to go against the first band of the Pagans. The Saracens came on against the Christians, each of them with dreadful contrived faces [*i.e.* masks], horned and bearded like devils in their shape and appearance, and their emblems of battle, and it were a cause of startling and horror to the men of the world to regard or look at their indescribable emblems at that time, with instruments like tabors in their hands^b which they were beating vigorously. So soon as the horses of the Christians heard the voices and sounds and noises of those trappings of wizardry, and beheld those awful appearances, great terror and horror seized them, and they turned back as though they were distraught or mad, and the knights could not keep them or hold them in at all. And when the other two bands of the Christians saw the first band fleeing towards them, they themselves, the whole of them, fled with them. When Charles saw that, great astonishment seized him, until he understood the reason why they fled. And great joy seized the Pagans at this, and they followed the Christians hard, until they came^c close to a great mountain, and that mountain was almost two miles from the aforesigned city. And the Christians maintained their ground(?) to give the Pagans battle.^d And when the Pagans saw that, they withdrew a little, and the Christians encamped there, and they were there that night. And on the morning of the next day Charles taking counsel ordered his fighting men to cover the heads of their horses with cloths, so that they might not see the awful tricks^e which the Pagans had performed the day before. And he gave orders to stop the ears of the horses so that they might not hear the dreadful noises of their tabors or their [other] marvellous

* Militum. ^b tenentesque singuli singula timpana. ^c "Pervenimus." Turpin is supposed to be writing. ^d ibi vero omnes coadunati ex nobis meti ipsi asilum fecimus illos expectantes ad bellum. Both texts.
e larvas

[adhuathmara E.] a tapur na a n-ealadhan n-ingantach. Ocus ar n-iadhadh shul ocus cluas a n-ech do na *Cristaighibh* do cuadar gu dothchusach cum an chatha, ocus nír chuiredar¹ foghair nait cealga na ndaine neammbúid an-umal orra. Ocus do batar o mhadiuin co medhon lai mar sin ag cathughadh. Ocus is mor do marbadh do na *Padanchaibh*. Gidheadh ni dearnad didhbail doibh uile.² Ocus do thinoiledar [na *Seirrisdinigh* E.] cum aein *inaid* ocus do bhi cairt ar a lar ocus ocht ndaimh ag a tarraig, ocus is uirri do bidh a *mbratach*³ ocus as e fa bes ag na *Padanchaibh* in comhfhad do bheith a *mbratach* 'na sesamh gan nech acu do theitheadh as in cath. Mar do aithin Serlus sin, ar bhfaghail neirt o Dia do chuaid sé ar lar na *Padanach* ocus do gherr iat da dheis ocus da clí⁴ no go rainic in cairt ar a raibhi a suaichentas, ocus tuc builli *claidhímh* don pheirsí⁵ do bi ag imchur na *brataighi*, ocus do gherr he,⁶ ocus do innto⁷ in cairt. Ocus do mhoidh do na *Padanchaibh* ar na fhaicsin sin, ocus do theithset is gach aird. Ocus do ronad gairthi⁸ mora dasachtacha ag an da shluagh, ocus do marbadh ocht *míle* do na *Seirrisdineachaibh* ann sin. Do marbadh ann ri Sibilie, ocus do chuaidh Altumaior ri Cordubiae⁹ maille da *mhile* fer annsa *cathraigh*. Ocus ar na mharach do thinnluic in fer claiti sin in cathair do Sherlus ar in cunnrad so .i. baisededh do gabhail chuigi ocus in cathair do beith aigi o Sherlus, ocus oglachas umul do thabhairt do, o sin suas.

Ar ndenamh na ngnimarthá¹⁰ so do Sherlus do roinn se tigearnas ocus prouinnsedha na Sbainne ar na cinedhachuibh da *mhuinntir* le'r b'ail anmain innti, ocus tigearnas Nauorrorum ocus Baclorum do lucht na Normonde, ocus tigearnas na *caislean* do na Frangcachaibh ocus tigearnas Uaghete¹¹ ocus Secangusde¹² do na Grecachaibh ocus do lucht na h-Apulia, ocus tigearnas na hArguine do lucht na Picairdi ocus talamh Auladulue¹³ do na hAilmainechaibh ocus tigearnas na Portigale¹⁴ do Lochlannchaibh ocus do lucht

1. cuimníghdar E. cumg F. the original was probably "na cumgat" from "conicim" I am able. H. has "nir fechadar do celgaib," etc. 2. nir dib iad uile H. 3. do himarcaigheadh a bratacha E. 4. dobhi ag a marbadh gacha taebha de E.. 5. donirsigh F. donfersait E. don crand H. 6. hi E. 7. impo E. & F. 8. eighmhe E. & F. do gairedar an da sluagh. H. which ends here. 9. Cornubia E. 10. gnim E. 11. nagedhe E. 12. Cesar augusta E. 13. auladulup E. 14. Portingali E

arts. And as soon as^a the eyes and ears of their horses were closed by the Christians they went boldly into battle, and neither the sounds nor deceptions of the fierce disobedient people affected them. And they^b were fighting thus from the morning to the middle of the day. And great numbers of the Pagans were slain. However they were not all hurt. And the Saracens gathered into one place, and there was a cart^c in their midst and eight oxen drawing it, and it was [set up] on it their standard^d was wont to be. And this was the custom of the Pagans,—so long as their standard should remain standing not a man of them would flee from the battle. When Charles recognized this, he, receiving strength from God, went into the middle of the Pagans and cut them down right and left until he reached the cart whereon their ensign was, and he gave a stroke of his sword to the pole^e which was carrying the standard and cut it down, and turned the cart.^f And on seeing that the Pagans broke and fled in every direction. And great and desperate cries were raised by the two hosts, and eight thousand of the Saracens were slain there. The King of Sibilie^g was slain there and Altumaior, King of Cordubiae, went [back] into the city with two thousand men. And the next day that defeated man surrendered the city to Charles, on this condition, that he should receive baptism and hold the city from Charles and do him obedient service from that out.

When Charles had accomplished these deeds he divided the lordship and provinces of Spain among those tribes of his own people who desired to remain in it, and [settled] the lordship of the Navarri and Bacli^h on the people of Normandy,ⁱ and the lordship of the Castles^j on the Franks, and the lordship of Vaghete^k and Selangusde^l on the Greeks and on the people of Apulia, and the lordship of Arguine on the people of Picardy,^m and the land of Auladulue on the Allemanni,ⁿ and the lordship of Portugal on the Lochlannachs

^a ars mirabilis! illeco et, etc. ^b nostri. ^c plaustrum. ^d vexillum rubeum eorum. ^e tunc propria spatha perticam quae vexillum sustenatabat abscidit. ^f Last four words not in Latin. ^g i.e. Seville. ^h Terram Basclorum. ⁱ Britannis. ^j Castellanorum. ^k Nagerae. ^l Caesar-augustae=Saragossa. ^m Terram Aragonis Pictavis. C. Arraginis Picardis Fr. ⁿ Terram Alandaluf Teutonicis.

Flondruis, ocus tigearnus na Gailinnsi do na *Frangcachaibh*, or do b' aibinn leo he.¹ Ocus ni roibhi nech isin *Sbáin* o sin suas do chaitheochadh anaghaidh Serluis.

AN SECHTMADH SGEL DHEG ANN SO.

Ocus na diaigh sin ar bhfhabail² urmoir a *sluaigh* do Sherlus annsa Sbainn do chuaidh se d'fisrachadh criche *San Sem*. Ocus in lucht le'r bh'ail aitiughadh isin crich sin, do urail a mbaisdedh. Ocus gach nech fuair ar n-impodh cum na hirsí *Padanaighi* do urail a cloidhmheadh [ocus a ndichennadh, E.] Ocus na dhiaigh sin do orduigh³ ar fud na cathrach esbaic ocus sacairt. Ocus do orduigh se esbuig ocus righa ocus prínnadh do rinni se ar gradh *San Sem* isin *Sbain* ocus isin Gailinnsi da mbeith⁴ ann in *trath* sin, ocus da mbeith⁵ umhal d'esboc *San Sem* o sin suas. Ocus nír orduigh se esboc do *beith* a *Siriam*,⁶ or nír *breathnuigh* se gur cathair hi; acht do orduigh a *beith* na baili fó chathair *Compostilanensis*.⁷ Ocus do badhas-sa fein .i. esboc *Turpinus* airdesboc *Rementis*⁸ a comairle na neithe so, ocus do bennuighes *tempall* ocus altoir *San Sem* ar *furaileamh* Sherluis, ocus nai⁹ n-esbuic am fhochair, ocus do b'i aimsir sin a callain Julius.¹⁰ Ocus do urail Serlus in *Sbáin* co huilidhi ocus in Ghailinnsi do *beith* umhal¹¹ don tempoll so. Ocus tuc mar tabhartus don *eclais céadna* tighearna gacha tighi isin *Sbain* ocus isin Gailinnsi do thabhairt .iiii. tallann oir¹² gacha bliadhna mar chís di, ocus a *bheith* saer o gach uili dhaeirsí [tre furailim an ri .i. Serlus F. & E.] Ocus do ordaigh teghdhuis apostolicda¹³ do ghairm dhi o sin amach, ar son cuirp *San Sem* do *bheith* a cumsanad¹⁴ innti. Ocus do urail co mad innti do bheidis comhairledha esbac na *Sbáini* co h-uilidhi ar connmhail, ocus cu mad innti do *béarthai* slata¹⁵ esbac ocus coroine righ amach,

1. The last sixty-five words are omitted in F. 2. fadhail E. 3. E. adds ocus do credhail (?) se. 4. noch do bhi E. do bi F. 5. do *beith* E. & F. 6. oir nír ordaigh se a *beith* in a baile easpuic asiriam oir ni dhearna se gur *cathair* i. E. & F. 7. Campostalinensis E. 8. remois E. Both E. & F. add "na righ." F. reads "Remtis," with a stroke over the m. 9. nai neaglasa maille naonbur easpuc E. 10. Iuil E. 11. cohumall E. & F. E. adds after Serlus "impir na crodhachta ocus an gaisgidh." 12. oir from E. 13. Tegais abstolica F. 14. a folach F. 15. b-tai F.

and the people of Flanders,^a and the lordship of Galicia on the Franks, for they thought it delightful.^b And there was no one in Spain from that out who would fight against Charles.

SEVENTEENTH CHAPTER.

AND after that Charles—finding [?] the bulk of his army in Spain—went to visit the country of Saint James and the people who desired to reside in that country he ordered that they should be baptized. And every person whom he found [turning] to the Pagan faith he ordered him to be put to the sword and beheaded. And after that he ordained throughout the cities^c bishops and priests. And he ordained bishops and kings and princes whom he created for the love of Saint James in Spain and in Galicia, to be there then,^d and to be submissive to the bishop of Saint James from that forward.^e And he did not ordain any bishop to be in Siriam^f for he did not consider that that was a city,^g but he ordered it to be a place subject to the city of Compostilanensis (Compostella).^h And I myself, namely Bishop Turpin, Archbishop of Rheims, was one of the Councillorsⁱ concerning these things, and I blessed the temple and altar of St. James at the command of Charles, with nine^j bishops along with me; and that time was the Kalends of July. And Charles ordered the whole of Spain and Galicia to be obedient to this church. And he gave as a gift to that same church that the lord of every house in Spain and in Galicia should give four talents of gold every year as tribute to it, and that it should be free from every sort of bondage by order of the king, *i.e.* of Charles. And he ordained that it should be called a seat apostolic from that out, on account of St. James' body being at rest in it. And he ordained that it should be in it that the councils of the bishops of all Spain should be held, and that it should be in it that bishops croziers^k and kings crowns should be given out at the hands of the bishop of

^a Dacis et Flandris. ^b “inhabitare noluerunt,” which gives a quite different meaning. ^c na cathrach—no doubt here Gen Plur “civitates.”

^d praesentes et futuri. ^e I am not sure that I have translated rightly.

^f apud Yriam, also Iriam, *Lat.* ^g pro urbe non reputavit. ^h sedi Compostellensi *Fr.* Compostillanensi *C.* ⁱ *Lit.* “in the Council of these things.” ^j *Fr.* reads quadraginta. *C.* reads novem. ^k *Lit.* “rods” or “wands,” “virgae episcopales.”

do lamhuibh esbaic na cathrach fein, a n-anoir *San Sem*. Ocus da mbeith¹ in creidium *no* aithinta Dé co h-esbadhach isna *criocheaibh*² eli tre peacadh na popal cu mad do comairli an esbaic cedna do cuirfidhi ar iul iat. Ocus is oircheas do h-orduiged in creidium do cothughadh ocus d'anorughadh isin eclais anoraigh sin. Or mar do h-orduighedh creidium *Crist* ocus tegduis apostolicda le hEoin *Suibhiscéal* brathair *San Sem* isin rann oirrtheach don *domhan* isin cathair re n-abar Efeisumh, is mar sin do b'oirches in creidium cetna ocus teagduis apostolicda ele dh'ordughadh le *San Sem* isin rann iarthurach don *domhan* i. isin Gailinnsi. Ocus is iat so na tegduise do h-ordaighedh isin rann toir i. Efessus ata do *leith* deis fhlaithiusa *talmaidhe*³ De, ocus Compostella ata dha *leith* cli.⁴ Or is iat sin tarla *cum* na deisi *brathar* so i. da mhac Sebedeus ar roinn na prouindse⁵ (?) or do iaradar ar an Tighearna nech dhibh do shuidhiughadh da *leith* deis in a fhlaith-eamnus ocus nech ele da *leith* cli. Ocus is oirchis do urail an creidium *Cristaighi*⁶ tri tegduisi oiregda d'anorugadh tar chathrachaibh in *domhain* co huilidhi i. in Rom ocus in Gailinnsi ocus Efessus. Or mar do thagh in Tighearna na tri h-esbuil dar foillsigh se a *deirridius* níis mo ina dona h-esbalaibh ele amhail is follus isna soiscelaibh, is mar sin do *ordaigh* na tri tegduise so d'anorughadh ar a son tar tegduisibh in *domhain* cu coitcenn, ocus is oirches an Rom do *beith* na primhtegdais aca, or as i do coisric *Pedur* prinnsa⁷ na n-esbal, le n-a sheanmoir ocus le n-a fhuil⁸ ocus le n-a adhnacul fein.

Compostella *iomorro*, is coir a *beith* na tegdais tanaisdi, ar son gurub e *San Sem* (do bo mho do reir dhiniti⁹ deis *Petair* edir na h-esbulaibh) do daingnigh hi maille na shenmoir ocus do coisric maille na adhnacal coiseartha hi, ocus ní anann aga maisiughudh [ocus ag *méadughadh* a gloire E.] do mirbhulibh [dofhaisneisi E.]

Efesus *iomorro*, oirches a *beith* an a *treas* tegduis,¹⁰ ar son gurub innti do rindi Eoin *suibhiscéal* a soiscél fein [ar dús E.] i.

1. da tegmad co mbeith F. 2. *tiorthaibh* E. ch—F. 3. sic. *Lis.* & E. *talmhan* F. 4. do *leith* cli in *flaithemhnuis* *cedna* E. 5. *proinnsi* F. & E. 6. *catoilica* F. 7. E. adds "ocus leg loghmar." 8. E., which turns this passage differently, adds "morluaignh" here. 9. Thus F. dinite E. *Lis.* seems to read "diuiti." 10. F. makes this word "tedais" passim. E. has "tegais" but omits "treas."

the city itself, and in honour of Saint James. And if the faith or the Commandments of God should be failing in other countries^a through the sin of the people, that it should be by the counsel of that same bishop they should be guided. And fittingly was it ordained to support and honour the faith in this honoured church. For as the faith of Christ and an apostolic seat were ordained by John the Evangelist, brother of Saint James, in the eastern division of the world, in the city which is called Ephesus, even so was it fitting that St. James should ordain the same faith and another apostolic seat in the western division of the world, namely in Galicia. And the following are the [apostolic] seats that were ordained in the eastern division, namely Ephesus, which is to the right side of the earthly kingdom of God,^b and Compostella which is to its left side. For those are what came to these two brothers, namely the two sons of Zebedee on the division of the provinces,^c for they asked the Lord to seat one of them at his right side in his kingdom and another of them at his left side. And fittingly did the Christian faith ordain that three distinguished seats should be honoured beyond the cities of the entire world, namely Rome and Galicia and Ephesus. For as the Lord chose the three apostles to whom he, more than to the other apostles, manifested his secrets, as is obvious in the gospels, even so did he ordain that these three seats should be honoured for their sake beyond the seats of the world at large. And it is fitting that Rome should be the first of these seats, for it was it that Peter, prince of the apostles, consecrated by his preaching and his blood and his own burial.

Compostella, however, it is fitting that it should be the second seat, because it was Saint James—who after Peter was greatest amongst the apostles according to dignity,^d—who confirmed it by his preaching and consecrated it by his consecrated burial, and he never ceases to adorn it and increase its glory by inexpressible miracles.

Ephesus, however, it is fitting for it to be the third seat, for it was there that John the Evangelist preached his own gospel

^a *Lit.* “the other countries.” ^b *in regno terreno Christi.* ^c *in divisione provinciarum.* ^d *qui dignitate major post beatum Petrum extitit.*

“In Principio erat uerbum,” ocus gur coisric hi da *forcetul* ocus da *mirbhuiilbh* ocus da *adhnacul* fein ocus rl.¹

AN T-OCHTMADH SGEL DEG ANN SO.

Tuarascbhail deilbhi Serluis ocus a chuinghill² ann so. As amlaidh *iomorro* do bhi in t-impír *airmeach*³ anorach sin: folt donn air ocus gnuis *derg*, ocus *corp* nua neamharsaigh aigi,⁴ ocus do ba *greannmhar* do *réir*⁵ fhechsana he, ocus do bhatar ocht troighthi in *fhir* do b'fhaidi troigh do lucht a *aimsiri*⁶ ar airdi ann, ocus do ba aidhbhseach a *leithe*⁷ fo n-a chael-druim, ocus meit inchubhaidh na medhon: *rightreach* ocus luirgne *remra* aigi, ocus ailt ro *laidiri*, ocus se eolach a *cathalbh* na ridiri: ro *greannmhar*: feedh *troighe* 'na edan: suile leomhanda drith-lineacha aigi, mar in cloich re n-abar carabunculus. *Letheat* baisi⁸ in gach *mhala* dho, ocus in té ar a bhfhechadh maille feirg do *crithneadh* a cedoир [d'eagla an ti sin E.] Ocht reisi⁹ isin *cris* do bidh thairis a n-ecmuis a mbidh uadha amach dhe. As bec do chaitheadh dh'aran, ocus do chaitheadh cethraime chaerach *no* da chirc *no* ggeh *no* slinnen muici *no* geissanan¹⁰ *no* mil muighe imlán, ocus do ibheda becan fina co suilbher ar cur uisci trid. Do bhi in *meit* sin do *neart*¹¹ ann gu *ngearradh* d'aen-bhuilli *claidhímh* ridiri armdha [eidighthe E.] na shuidhi ar a ech o mhullach a chinn co a ichtar mailleis in n-ech fein. Do shinedh [co hurasa F.] le na lamhuibh cethra *cru* eich a n-aeinfhecht. [Neart ele fos do bhi ann E.] an tan do theidheadh ridiri armtha eidighthi na shesamh ar a dernainn do thocbhád cu h-athlumh¹² ar a aen-laimh he. Fa daenachtach 'na brondtuibh he, ocus fa *díreach* 'na *breitheamnas*, ocus fa *sochraíd* [milis-briathrach E.] [a] n-urlabhra. Do chonnmad cuirt co sundradach a ceathur feiltibh uaisli isin bliadhain isin

1. F. & E. omit “*ocus rl.*” 2. do tuarasgbail ocus do deilbh ocus do cruth ocus do cuingill S. Moir. E. 3. in ri trocaireach sin E. 4. Thus E. neamhairsigh F. neamhasaidh *Lis*. which omits “aigi.” 5. *Lis* reads dor. 6. F. omits last five words. 7. *leithead* F. *lethad* E. 8. *leathbois* E. 9. *Reisi* here translates the Latin “*palmae*.” 10. *gesachtach* E. *geiseacht* F. 11. *laidireachi* F. & E. 12. co haibeil E. *hurasa* F

that is “in principio erat verbum,” and consecrated it by his doctrine and his miracles and his own burial, etc.

EIGHTEENTH CHAPTER.

AN account now of the appearance of Charles and of his condition. This moreover is how that distinguished honoured emperor was : brown hair on him and a ruddy countenance and a body fair and youthful,^a and he was pleasant to look at.^b And there went eight feet such as a man of the longest feet of all of his time might have, to his height, and vast was his girth^c beneath his waist, and his middle was of a proportionate size. He had stout arms and shins and very powerful joints and he was expert in the battles of knights ; he was very mirthful ; his face was a foot long, he had lionlike sparkling eyes, like the stone that is called Carbuncle. Each of his eyebrows was a palm long,^d and whoever he might look on in anger that person used at once to tremble with fear. Eight spans were in the belt that used to go round him, not to count what was over after fastening it.^e He used to eat little bread, but he used to eat a quarter of a sheep or a couple of hens, or a goose or a shoulder^f of pig or a peacock^g or a whole hare,^h and he used to drink a little wine joviallyⁱ mixing water with it. He was of so much strength that he used with a sword stroke to cut through from the top of the head downward^j an armed knight seated on his horse together with the horse itself. He used to easily straighten out with his hands^k four horse shoes at once. Another feat-of-strength of his was when a knight in arms and armour used to come and stand on his palm he used to raise him readily on his one hand. He was liberal in his gifts and upright in his judgment, and he was bright and sweet voiced in speech.^l He used to hold court in Spain, especially at the four renowned festivals of the year in his

^a corpore decorus et venustus. ^b visu efferus. ^c amplissimus renibus, ventre congruus. ^d supercilia oculorum dimidiam palmam habebant. ^e praeter illud quod dependebat. ^f spatulam. ^g pavonem. ^h “aut gruem” is omitted. ⁱ sobrie. ^j *Lit.* “to his lower part,” “usque ad bases.” ^k facile extendebat. ^l locutionibus loculentus.

Spain [re na linn E.] do iom[ar]chadh¹ coroin righ ocus slat righ in tan sin .i. la Notlac ocus la Casc ocus la *Cuincdisi*² ocus la San *Sem*. Ocus do h-imchairthe³ *claidheamh* nocth na fhiadhnuise do shír a n-inad breitheamhnuis ar modh [ocus mar riaghail ocus mar smacht E.] impiri. Do hordaigte do sir gach n-oighthi da choimet se .xx.it Cristaidhi⁴ laidir a timcheall a leaptha, .i. da .xx.it dibh aga fhaire in céad sheál do'n oighthi, ocus is mar so do bitis .i. *deichnebhar* dibh aga chinn⁵ ocus *deichnebhar* ag a chosaibh,⁶ *deichnebhar* da dheis ocus *deichnebhar* da chle, ocus *claidheamh* nocth a laimh dheis ocus lochrann ar lasad a laimh cli gach fir dibh. Do bhftis da .xx. eile⁷ treas ele isin dara seal don oighthi aga aire ar in modh cedna, ocus an da .xx.it ele isin treas seal mar an cedna, ocus cach na codlad ar cena. Ocus ge mad mhian do neoch ní bhudh mhó da mhoirghnímaibh d'eistecht do badh *muirireach* dhuin-ne re a fhaisneis he, .i. mar do ghabh deisi ridiri o Galfridus Admiraldus mac Toletus⁸ na macamh a Palas Toletuis, ocus se ar innarba,⁹ ocus mar do mharbh sé a comraac ar gradh Galfriduis Barmatus moirdhimseach¹⁰ rí na Seirrisdineach námha Ghalfiduis, ocus mar do cosain moran do thirthaibh ocus do chathrachaibh ocus mar do chuir fo ireis *creidmhe* na trinoite iat, ocus mar do *ordaigh* moran d'abhdhainechtaibh¹¹ ocus d'ecalsaibh¹² ar fud in domain, ocus mar do chumduigh cuirp ocus taisi mhorain do naemuibh [ocus do mairtireachaibh E.] d'or ocus d'aircet, ocus mar do chuaid d'fhis adlaicthi an tighearna [.i. Isa Crist E.] ocus mar tuc crann na *croiche* cesta leis,—ní tualuing mhisí a scribhadh ann so. Or do badh thúsca esbaidh na laimhe ocus an peinn ina esbaidh a gnima-san.¹³ Gidheadh is coir dhuinn a innisin co cumair mar do innto as in Spainn isin *Frainge* tar eis na Gailinnsi do shoerad [do E.]

1. Thus E. imarch—*Lis*. umurcadh F. 2. cincisi E. cingisi F. 3. him-archaidhe E. 4. ridiri F. Ridiri *Ciostaighi* in a ridiribh laidre inntaebha 5. um a cheann E. 6. gacha taeha F. 7. Thus F. & E. *Lis*. curiously reads “do bhftis mnà.” 8. .i. Admiraldus mac doteletus E. 9. F. omits last twelve words. 10. morgnimach E. 11. do benncaib F. 12. d'asbucáibh ocus do minisdrechaibh E. 13. gnimarthá E. & F.

time. He used to bear a king's crown and sceptre^a at those times, namely on Christmas Day and Easter Day and Pentecost and St. James's Day. And a naked sword used to be constantly borne in his presence in place[s] of delivering judgment^b after the manner, rule and sway of an emperor. There used to be appointed every night for his safe-keeping six score of strong Christians^c round about his couch, and two score of them used to keep watch during the first part of the night, and this is how they used to be, namely ten at his head and ten at his feet and ten at his right hand and ten at his left hand, and a naked sword in the right hand and a lighted lamp in the left hand of every man of them. There used to be two score more^d another while, in the second time of the night watching him in like manner, and the other two score on the third watch of the night in like manner, when every one else was asleep.

And though one might like to listen to more of his great deeds it would be burdensome for us to show them forth, as for example^e how he took knightly equipment from Galfridus Admiraldus, son of Toletus,^f when a youth at the palace of Toletus,^g at a time when he was in banishment, and how he slew in fight for love of Galfridus the proud^h Barnatus,ⁱ king of the Saracens, an enemy of Galfridus, and how he protected^j many countries and cities, and how he placed them under the faith of a belief in the Trinity, and how he ordained many abbacies and churches throughout the world, and how he covered the bodies and relics of many saints and martyrs with gold and silver, and how he went to visit the burial place of the Lord, *i.e.* Jesus Christ, and how he brought with him the tree of the Cross of Crucifixion,—I am not able to write [them all] here. For the hand and the pen would be exhausted sooner than his deeds. However we ought to narrate briefly how he turned [again] out of Spain into France after setting free Galicia.

^a *Lit.* “a king's rod.” *Coronam regiam et sceptrum gestabat.* ^b *ante* *eius tribunal.* ^c *orthodoxi.* ^d *Lis.* reads “there used to be women,” the other MSS. read as does the Latin, which is *alii quadraginta.* ^e *Lit.* “namely.” ^f *Galafruus Admirandus C.* *Admiraldus Coleti Fr.* ^g *palatio Coleti Fr.* *Toletae C.* ^h *superbum.* ⁱ *Latin Braimantus.* ^j *acquisivit.*

AN NAEMADH SGEL DHEG ANN SO.

A haithle na Sbaine co h-uilidhi do ghabhail ocus do chur fo creidiumh a n-anoir Dhe ocus a apstail .i. San Sem do'n impir airmeach sin .i. do Sherlus Mor, ag impodh on Spain dō, do an¹ oighthe a Pampilonia le na shluaghhaibh. Tarla in tan sin da righ do Sheirrisdíneachaibh na comnuidhi san inad re n-abar Cesar Agusta .i. Marsirius ocus Belegandus² a brathair ar n-a cur o Admiralllus³ ri na Baibiloine don Sbáin ocus do b'umal [fomaigthech E.] do Sherlus iat in gach aen chas, ocus do nidis a sherbhis [ocus a reir E.] co haentadach ; gidhead is maille [mailis ocus re ceilg ocus re E.] gradh fallsa do nidais. Ocus do chuir Serlus nech da mhuinnir chuca dar ainm Ganalonus da aithne dhibh baistedh do ghabháil ocus a chís do chur chuigi. Ocus do cuired .x. n-eich .xx., fo a n-eire d'ór ocus d'aircet [mar cis E.] cuigi, ocus do cuired cum lochta cathaighthi [ocus gaisgidh E.] Serluis eiri da .xx.et ech [ro-laidir E.] dfhin glan mhilis ocus mile ben raithamhail⁴ [ro-deallradhach E.] do mnaibh na Seirr-isdíneach. Ocus do urailedur [ocus do chuiridar impighi ocus guidhe mor E.] ar Ganalonus fein .xx. ech⁵ cona n-eiribh d'or ocus d'aircet ocus do sheduibh [dingmala ro-uaisle E.] ele do [gabhall chuigi E.] do chinn lochta cathaighthi Serluis do thoirbert [ocus do chur amach E.] doibh gu cealgach. Ocus do aemh [ocus do gell E.] Ganalonus sin, ocus do gabh an t-innmhus [ocus na seoit sin chuige E.].

Ar ndaingniughad na saeibh-cheilgi braithtighi sin doibh, do inntó Ganalonus cum Serluis, ocus tuc na h-ascáda sin do chuiredar na righa Seirrisdíneacha chuigi, dhó, ocus do innis dō gur bh'ail le Marsirius [baistigh do gabhall chuige ocus E.] Cristaighi do denam dhe, ocus gu roibhi ag ullmhughadh a trialla do thecht cum Serluis isin Frainge do ghabháil baistidh innti, ocus gu coinnemadh talamh na Sbáini uili a hucht Serluis o sin amach. Lucht in chathaighthi iomorro, in drong do boire[g]da⁶ [ocus do b'uramanta E.] ocus do ba mhó dhibh, do ghabhadar an fin [amain F.], ocus do

1. E. omits "do an" and so makes nonsense. 2. Beliganndus E.
3. Amirandus F. Admirandus E. 4. sgothamhail E. & F. 5. fa xx
ech delodh E 6 ireatha E. irada F.

NINETEENTH CHAPTER.

AFTER taking the whole of Spain and putting it under [the] Faith in honour of God and his apostle St. James, by that renowned emperor Charles the Great, as he returned from Spain he remained a night in Pampilonia^a with his armies. It chanced that at that time two kings of the Saracens were residing at the place which is called Caesar Augusta,^b namely Marsirius^c and Belagandus his brother, they having been sent by Admiraldus,^d king of Babylon, to Spain, and they were submissive and reverential to Charles in everything, and they used to perform his service and his bidding unitedly. However it was out of malice and treachery and false love^e they used to do it. For Charles sent one of his people to them, whose name was Ganalon, to command them to accept baptism and to send him his tribute. And thirty horses laden with gold and silver were sent to him as tribute, and there were sent to Charles's fighting men and heroes, forty strong horses^f laden with clear sweet wine, and a thousand graceful^g shapely women of the women of the Saracens. And they ordered and besought, and greatly prayed for Ganalon himself to accept twenty horses laden^h with gold and silver and other suitable and noble things-of-price in return for treacherously delivering up and exposing Charles's fighting men to them. And Ganalon consented to that and promised it, and received the treasure and jewels.

On their confirming this deceitful false treachery [between them] Ganalon returned to Charles and brought him those gifts which the Saracen kings had sent him, and told him that Marsirius desired to accept baptism and to make a Christian of himself and that he was preparing his journey to come to Charles into France to receive baptism thereⁱ and that he would hold the land of all Spain from Charles^j from thenceforward. The fighting men moreover, those of them who were noblest and most respected and greatest,^k they took the wine only, and refused the women.

^a Pampeluna. ^b i.e. Saragossa. ^c sic *Fr.* Marsiorus C. ^d ab Ammirando Babylon de Perside ad Hispaniam missi. ^e in caritate facta. ^f sic *Fr.* "Sexaginta" C. ^g formosas. ^h *Lit.* "with their loads of." ⁱ *Lit.* "in it." ^j de illo teneret. ^k maiores pugnatores.

dhuiltadar na mná. Ocus do ghabhudar in lucht do b'uirisli dhibh iat a ndidhbhail a n-anmann fein. Ar creidemh [uirigill ocus E.] briathar *Ganalonus* do Sherlus do *thriall* dul tar na portaibh re n-abar *Ciserei*,¹ do thecht isin Fraingc, ocus do *ordaigh*, do chomhairle *Ganalonus*, do na prinnsadaibh do b'annda leis da ridiribh .i. Rolandus mac a shethariarla *Cinomansis*² ocus *Blauensis* ocus *Oluerus* iarla *Gehenensis* anmhain ag coimet [ocus ag diden E.] deiridh na slighe isin glenn re n-abar *Runti*³ Uallis, mailleis in droing do ba mhó [neart E.] don lucht *cathaighthi* [do bhi na fhochair E.] ocus re .xx.⁴ mÍle *Cristaighi* no go dechadh Serlus tar portaibh *Sisereos*.⁵ Ocus ar mbeith ar meisce don droing do ibh in *fin Serrisdíneach* do *pheacthaighedur* ris na mnaibh *Padanda*, ocus drong ele dhibh re mnaibh *Cristaighi* tucadar leo as in⁶ Fraingc, ocus fuaradur bas.

Ar nimthecht do Sherlus tar na portaibh a *dubhramar* ocus fiche mÍle *Cristaighi* ocus *Ganalonus* ocus *Turpinus* na fharradh, ocus ar mbeith dona *cathaighibh*⁷ ag coimet a ndeiridh mar a *dubhramar*, do eirigh *Marsarius* ocus *Belegandus* maille L. mÍle *Serrisdíneach* a mucha na maitne⁸ as na glenntuibh ocus as na cnocuibh a rabutar a bhfholach re dhá láibh⁹ ocus re da *oidhchi* roime sin, do mhuin comairle *Ganalonus*, ocus do ronsat da chorughadh catha dibh .i. corughadh dhibh a roibhi .xx. mÍle ocus corughadh a roibe .xxx.⁹ mÍle. In corughadh a roibhi .xx. mÍle do thindscnadur bheith ag lot [ocu. ag marbhadh E.] na *Cristaighi* do leith a ndroma ocus [ar na motughudh sin do na *Cristaighibh* F. & E.] do impaideadar na *Cristaighi* orro [ocus do madmaighidar ocus do marbádar iat E.] ocus do bhatur ag cathughad riu o madaín co teirt, ocus ni dechaidh duine na bethaidh don .xx. mÍle *Serrisdíneach* [nar tuit ar an lathair sin E.]. Ocus ar mbeith coirthi¹⁰ dona *Cristaighibh* on cathughad [ocus on torainn E.] sin, do dhoirt [ocus do ling E.] in trichat mÍle *Serrisdíneach* na cenn [gan fis doibh E.] Ocus do thuitedar leo o beg cu mor, innus nach dechaidh nech beo don .xx. mÍle *Cristaighi* gan bas dfhaghail,¹¹ .i. drong dibh ar cur shleagh tritha, ocus drong ar na ndicennadh

1. siserie E. & F. 2. *Cinnmannsis* ocus *Blauensis* E. F. omits these words 3. *rutuialis* E. & F. 4. *siseros* F. *sisereros* E. 5. isin E.

6. *ridiribh* E. 7. *mainne* F., which is also the modern pronunciation.

8. *dala* E. 9. .x. .xx.m. E. x.m.xx. F. 10. *sgithach toirrseach* E.

11. gan bas ocus eg ocus *oidhigh d'imirt* orro E.

And those who were meanest^a of them accepted them [*i.e.* the women] to the damage of their own souls.

Charles believing the utterance and words of Ganalon set out to go over the passes called Ciserei,^b to come into France, and, by the advice of Ganalon, he ordered the princes whom he loved best of his knights, namely Roland, his sister's son, Earl Cenomansis^c and Blaviensis, and Oliver, earl Gebenensis^d to remain, and to keep and protect the rear of the passage through the valley, which is called Runti Vallis,^e with the strongest part of the fighting men, and with twenty thousand Christians who were with him, until Charles should have gone over the passes of Sisereos [or Ciserei]. And those who had drunk the Saracen wine being intoxicated sinned with the Pagan women, and others with Christian women whom they had brought with them out of France, and they died.

After Charles going over the passes we have spoken of, and twenty thousand Christians and Ganalon and Turpin with him, with his fighting men protecting their rear as we have said, Marsirius and Belegandus rose up with fifty thousand Saracens in the early part of the morning from the valleys and hills where they were in hiding for two days and two nights before that, through Ganalon's advice, and they made two battle arrays of themselves, namely one of twenty thousand and another of thirty thousand. The division of twenty thousand began to wound and slay^f the Christians in their rear. When the Christians perceived that, they turned on them and they broke them and slew them, and were fighting with them from morning till the hour of terce, and not one of the twenty thousand Saracens escaped with his life but all fell in that place. And when the Christians were a-weary after that fighting and conflict,^g the thirty thousand [other] Saracens burst forth and sprang to meet them,^h before they knew it.

And [the Christians] fell by them both great and small so that not one escaped alive of the twenty thousand Christians without dying, some thrust through by spears and some beheaded

^a Juniores *Fr.* Minores *C.* ^b transire portus Cisereos. ^c Cenomansensi et Blaviensi Comiti, *i.e.* Count of Man. ^d *i.e.* aliter Auvergne.

^e Ultimam custodiam in Runcievalle facerent (Runciavalle *Fr.*) ^f percutere nostros.

^g "torann" seems to be sometimes used in this sense.

^h The Latin has simply "aggrediuntur." *Doirt* seems to be a military term, see p. 98, line 27

le claidmib, ocus drong ar na coscairt le tuaghuiibh, ocus drong ar na tolladh [ocus ar na tredadh E.] le soighdibh, ocus le colbaibh¹, ocus drong ar na marbhadh leis na harmuibh re n-abar pertica, ocus drong ar na bhfhennadh le scenuibh ocus siat na mbethaidh, ocus drong ar na loscad a teinidh² ocus drong ar n-a crochadh re crannaibh, innus co bhfhuair in lucht cathaighthi uili bas acht Rolandus ocus Baldonius ocus Turpinus ocus Ganalonius ocus Tedricus. Baldonius *iomorro* ocus Tedricus do leathadur³ fo'n coill, ocus do fholchatar⁴ iat fein, ocus is mar sin do chuadar as.

A haithle in choscair [ocus in comaидhme E.] sin do breith dona *Serrisdíneachaibh*, do impátar⁵ tar a n-ais [maille luathgair ocus re gairdechas mor E.] fedh leuc i. tri *mile*.⁶

As in-fhiafraighthi annso cred fár cheduigh⁷ Dia an drong út nar pheacthugh ris na mnaibh do *thuitim* annso. Ocus as doigh gurub é in *t-adbar* nar b'ail leis a leicen cum a tire fein aris, cu nach dearndais pechta [budh truime F. & E.] innti. Or do b'ail leis coroin do tabhairt tre na pais⁸ a *fhláithius* De ar son a saethair dhoibh. An dream *iomorro* do righne in *pecadh* do fhuluing a mbas, or do b'ail leis coroin do thabhairt doibh ocus a *pecadh* do scris, tre pais ocus tre martra *cloidhimh*. Ocus ni h-increitti nar bh'ail le Dia *trocuireach* na saethair do ronsat roime sin do chúitiughadh⁹ riu, o dho admhadar ainm De ocus o dho ronsat a *pecadh* d'fhaisidin fa dheoigh. Or gidh do phecthaighedur ris na mnaibh is ag cosnum anma *Crist* fuaradar bas. Da *reir* sin as in-tugtha dh'áidh¹⁰ a *méit* do bhaeghal don lucht triallus *cum cathaighthi* coidriubh¹¹ na mban, mar is follus isna prinnsaib dar anmanna *Dairius* ocus *Antonius* do chuaidh cum cathaighthi ocus a mna na bhfhochair co bhfhuadar bas ann. Or do claidheadh *Dairius* le h-Alaxander¹² ocus *Antonius* le hOctouianus *Augustus*. Maseadh ni breaghda ocus ni tarbach na mna do bheith isna longphortaibh, or do *beir* in druis toirmeascc an a n-oibrighthibh¹³ don *chorp* ocus don anmain, *et cetera*.

1. *Lis.* has "colbaibh." 2. Last twenty-nine words omitted both in E. & F. 3. *leathnuighedar* ocus do *scailidar* E. *foilgidar* iad F

4. *foladar* E. 5. *impodar* E. 6. *fedh tri mile* E. & F. 7. *cad far chuidig* ocus *cad far cedaigh* E. 8. Thus F. The others read "tre pais."

9. *Trocaire na ndedhngnim* do ronsad roime sin do chúitiughadh ris na *ridiribh* sin ontis [ontist F.] do cuadar fa cuing De E. 10. *daibh* ocus *daire* E.

11. *beith a caidrebh* ocus an aentaigh na mb E. 12. *Alastrann* F. & E.

13. *obrachaibh* E. *oibreachaibh* F

by swords, and some slaughtered by battle axes, and some pierced and bored with arrows and [smitten] with clubs, and some killed by the weapons called pertica^a and some flayed by knives while they were still alive, and some burnt in fire, and some hung on trees so that the warriors all died except Roland and Baldonius^b and Turpin and Ganalon and Tedricus. However Baldonius and Tedricus^c dispersed through the wood and hid themselves, and thus they escaped.

After the Saracens had won that victory and triumph they turned back a league's length that is three miles,^d with gladness and great rejoicing.

It may be asked here why God permitted those who did not sin with the women to fall here. And no doubt this was the reason—that He did not desire to let them [back] to their own country again so that they might not commit worse sins there,^e for He desired through their passion to grant them a crown in the kingdom of God on account of their labours. Those people, however, who committed the sin, He suffered their death, for He desired to give them a crown and to blot out their sin through passion and martyrdom by the sword. And it is unbelievable that the merciful God did not desire to recompense them for the labours they had wrought before, since they acknowledged the name of God and made a confession of their sins at the last. Because although they had sinned with the women it was in defending the name of Christ they died. According to this it should be seriously considered how much danger the society of women is to those who go to war, as is obvious in the case of those princes whose names were Darius and Anthony who went to battle with their women^f along with them, so that they died there. For Darius was overthrown by Alexander and Anthony by Octavianus Augustus. Hence it is not a right or advantageous thing for women to be in the camps^g for luxurious-indulgence brings hindrance in their operations to both body and soul—etc.^h

^a alii perticis verberando perimuntur. ^b Baldwin. ^c i.e. Theodoric.

^d una leuga C. leuca *F*r. ^e *Lit.* "in it." ^f uxorum comitatu.

^g ubi libido castranda est. ^h The etc. stands perhaps for the following passage "illi qui inebriasi et fornicati sunt significant sacerdotes et religiosos viros contra vitia pugnantes, quibus non licet inebrari et mulieribus coquinari; quod si fecerint ab inimicis suis, id est a daemonibus, se noverint superandos et aeterna morte plectendos.

Ar crichnughad in catha tainic Rolandus na aenar a n-iarmhoracht na Padanach ocus do bhi seal imgcian uatha, ocus fuair fer adhuathmur do na Padanachaibh ar na thoirriuighadh don chath, ocus se na loighi isin coill. Do cengail Rolandus a chosa ocus a lamha gu cruaidh¹ re crann ocus do fhacuibh mar sin he, ocus do chuaidh fein ar cnoc² do bhi 'na ghairi dfhaghail tuarascbhála na Padanach [ocus do breith breithi orra E.] Ocus do connaic gu rabhutar moran daine, ocus do inntó tar a ais a slighidh Runti Uallis a ndechedar [na Cristaighi E. & F.]. Ocus do shein buabhull eboire³ do bhi aigi, ocus tancatar fa ghut[h] in buabuill céd eicin do na Cristaighibh, ocus do impoidh Rolandus leo aris fo'n coill mar a roibhi in Seirrisdíneach do fhagaibh cengailti, ocus do scail a chuibrighi dhc, ocus do nocth a claidheamh os a chinn⁴ ocus a dubhaint "Mad ail⁵ leat techt leam ocus Marsarius d'foillsinghadh dham, leicfet as tu, ocus munab ail muirbhfead tu," or nir aithnid do Rolandus Marsarius conuigi sin. Ar ngabhail egla do'n Phadanach re mbriathraibh Rolandus do chuaid leis a cedoир ocus⁶ do fhoillsigh Marsarius do, ocus se ar eoch ruadh, ocus sciath cruinn air. Ocus, ar na fhaghail mar sin, do cuaidh Rolandus, ar na neartughadh o chumacthaibh De, mailleis in ndroing do bhi na fhochair, a cenn a namhat a cedoир, gan choicill,⁶ ocus in nech do b'airdi ocus do ba mho do chonnaic dhíbh do scoilt d'aenbuilli claidhimh e fein ocus a ech o mhullach gu lar, innus gur thuit cuid don Phadanach da dheis ocus cuid da cli. Ar na fhaicsin sin do na Serrisdíneachaibh, do fhacbadar Marsarius maille becan buidhne ar an magh ocus do theithedar fein da gach leith. Ocus ar bhfaghail neirt o Dia do Rolandus, do chuaidh ameasc na Seirrisdíneach ocus do dhichuir da gach thaebh iat, ocus do lean Marsarius ocus se ag teitheadh, ocus do mharbh e a mesc a mhuinnitiri maille neart ocus re cumhacthaibh De. Do marbhadh iomorro isin cath⁷ sin an céd companach⁸ do chuaidh isin cath le Rolandus, ocus do imthigh fein as in cath ocus cethra

1. E. adds "dobraingeach"? 2. mullach cnuicc E. 3. do cnaim iboirighi E. 4. F. omits last fourteen words. 5. madh ailt E. 6-6. Found in the Lismore text only. 7. Thus E. & F. *Lis.* has cathair. 8. Thus E. & F. *Lis.* has "c" only.

On finishing the battle Roland came, alone, in pursuit of the Pagans, and he was a long distance off from them, and he found a terrible^a man of the Pagans wearied out with the battle and lying down in the wood. Roland bound his feet and hands tightly to a tree and left him so, and he himself went to the top of a hill that was close to him to get some tidings of the Pagans and to form a judgment about them. And he saw that they were many in number and he turned back in the direction of Runti Vallis where the Christians had gone. And he sounded^b a horn of ivory which he had, and there came at the sound of the horn about a hundred of the Christians, and Roland turned back with them again to the wood where the Saracen was whom he had left bound, and he loosed his bonds from him, and he bared his sword over his head and said: "if you wish to come with me and to show me Marsarius I shall let you go, and if you do not I shall kill you," for Roland did not know the appearance of^c Marsarius up to this. And the Pagan taking fright at Roland's words went with him straightway and showed Marsarius to him, mounted on a bay^d horse and carrying a round shield. And finding him thus, Roland, being strengthened by the powers of God, instantly went with as many as were in his company against his enemy, not sparing, and the highest and biggest man that he saw of them, he split with one sword blow, himself and his horse, from his crown to the ground, so that part of the Pagan fell to the right and part to the left. When the Saracens saw that, they left Marsarius with a small band on the plain, and they themselves fled in every direction. And Roland getting strength from God went [in] amongst^e the Saracens and scattered them in every direction, and followed Marsarius as he fled, and slew him amongst his people by the strength and powers of God. There were slain moreover in that battle^f the hundred companions who went into the battle with Roland, and he himself went out of the battle

^a atrum.^b Lit. "played," insonuit tuba sua eburnea.^c Lit. M. was

not known to.

^d rufus.^e irrit super.^f bello.

sleagha ann, ocus se ar na gortughadh ocus ar na combrud gu mor [o cloidhme ocus F. & E.] o clochaibh, ocus do theith Beligandus a cedoир.

Do bhi Tedricus ocus Baldonius¹ mar adubhramar ocus drong eli dona *Cristaighibh* ar leathadh da gach aird don choill, ocus siat² a bhfolach tre eglá. Ocus do chuaidh drong ele dhibh tar na portuib adubhramar, ocus do chuaidh Serlus cona shluaghluibh tar in cnoc do bhi don *leth* ele don *phort*, ocus ní fhidir ní da *ndernad* na dhiaigh. Tainic Rolandus na aenar tresna³ coilltibh ocus sé ar na *tuirsiughadh* do scis in catha ocus d' imshnímh bais a companach ocus do *mhéit* ocus *d'imat* a *álad*,⁴ cusna portuibh re n-abar Ciserci,⁵ ocus do thuirling da each ar scath croinn laimh re cloich marmurc⁶ do bhí na sesomh ann ar magh aluinn isin gleann re a n-abar Runti Uallis.⁷ Ocus do bhi a claidheamh fein aigi ann sin, ocus do ba deadhmhaiseach oibriughadh in *claidhímh* sin ocus do ba doimhesda re hén claidheamh a ghéiri,⁸ ocus do ba taithnemach he do *réir* dheallraidh,⁹ ocus do b' é a ainm Durenda, on fhocal so durum .i. cruaidh, ar son gur shas¹⁰ builli cruaidh do thabhairt leis é. Or is tusca budh esbadach in lamh le mbuailfidhi he ina csium. Ocus tuc as a *thruaill* he, ocus do bhi athaidh na láimh aga fhegad, ocus adubhairt maille briathraibh toirrseacha¹¹ "a *claidhímh* as ferr don uili *claidheamh* ocus as imchuibhdh¹² do *reir* fhaidi ocus *leithi*, ocus is daingne do mhuin laidireachta, *co* ndorncla ro taithnemach ibhoiri, gu *crois*¹³ ndeallraidhthigh ordha, gu n-ubhull ro mhaiseach don cloich re n-abar berillus, ar nad chomharthughadh don ainm mor .i. "Alfa"¹⁴ ocus "O" ar na scribhadh innat ocus as inann sin ocus tosach gan tosach gan *deredh*¹⁵ air .i. in t-athair nemhdha, ocus ar nat daingniughadh do *bhrigh*¹⁶ ocus do cumachtaibh De. Cia gnaithochas let laidiri¹⁷ o so amach

1. *Tredicus* ocus *Baldinnus* E. (*Baldinus* F.) 2. *iat* F. & E. 3. *trid* na E. 4. *aal*—*ocus a cned* E. 5. *siserie* E. 6. *marmair* E. & F. 7. *rutuial*—E. 8. *do réir géiri* F. 9. *deabha* E. 10. *shoghf* F. E. reads "ar son gur sobualte cruaidh é. 11. *deracha* F. & E. 12. "caime" or "caine" E. & F. 13. *cris* E. 14. E. seems to read "ahoha" 15. *deridh* E. 16. F. & E. seem to read *doiborughtibh* and *doibrighthibh*. 17. *laidireacht* E. & F.

with four spears in him, greatly hurt and bruised from stones; and Beligandus fled at once.

Tedricus and Baldonius and some more of the Christians were, as we have said, dispersed on every side of the wood, and hiding through fear. And more of them went over the passes we have spoken of, and Charles with his armies went across the hill that was on the other side of the pass and knew nothing of the things that were done behind him. Roland came alone through the woods, and he worn-out with the fatigue of the battle, and with anguish at the death of his companions, and with the greatness and number of his [own] wounds, to the passes which are called Ciserei,^a and he dismounted from his steed under the shadow of a tree beside a marble stone which was standing there, in a fair plain in the valley which is called Runti Vallis.^b And he had his own sword there, and right fair was the workmanship of that sword, and incomparable compared with other swords was its keeness,^c and glittering was it in its brightness, and its name was Durenda, from this word Durum, that is "hard," because it was an instrument wherewith to give a hard blow. For the hand by which it [the stroke] would be struck would fail sooner than it. And he took it out of its sheath and it was for a time in his hand, and he looking at it, and he spake with words of grief: "O sword the best of all swords, and the most fitting in length and breadth, and the firmest in strength, with most shining hilt of ivory, with a hilt-cross^d gleaming and golden, with a most fair pummel^e of the beryl stone,^f that art marked with the great name Alpha and O^g engraved upon thee, which is the same as to say "beginning without beginning without ending^h to it," (which is the heavenly father), and confirmed by the force and powers of God. Who shall make free withⁱ thy strength

^a ad pedem portuum Cisere. ^b super Runcievallem C. Runcaevallem
Fr. ^c The Latin adds "fortitudine inflexiblem," which is not translated.

^d cruce. ^e pomo. ^f "berillus." ^g Not in *Fr.* Latin text.

^h Not in the Latin texts. ⁱ *Lit.* practise "tua virtute utetur."

thu. Cia *bhus* sealbhthoir ort, ocus cia aga mbeir¹ ocus cia *con-nemhas* tú? an ti aga mbia bhudh doclaite é,² or as *leat* marbhthar na *Serrisdinigh* ocus scristar an cinedh meabluch ocus arduightear an recht *Cristaighi* ocus shirther molad ocus gloir do Dhia. As adhbhul a mhence do mharbhas ocus do thindmes³ *Serrisdíneacha* leat, d'ardughadh an creidimh *Cristaighi*,⁴ ocus as minic do dhiglas fuil mu thighearna fein Isu Crist leat, or gach minceacht⁵ do inharbhas Iubhul meablach *no Serrisdíneach* leat, asi in menca sin dom dhoigh do dhiglas fuil *Crist*. A *claidhímh* is géiri don uili *chlaidheamh*, ní roibhí do cosmhuil ocus ni bhia, or in te do rindi thú ni *dherna* se h'innshamhail romhat na ad dhiaigh. Nír fhed bheith na bethaidh nech do crechtnaigheadh⁶ *leat*. Doiligh leam da mbia tú ag ridiri aineolach no mheta, no ag *Serrisdíneach*, no ag nech cealgach ele.”

A haithle na mbriathar soin, *con* nach tecmad⁷ in *claidheamh* a lamhhuibh na *Serrisdíneach* do bhuail tri bhuilli dhe isin cloich marmair do bhi 'na fhiadhnuisi, innus gu mbriseadh⁸ é. Do scoilt in builli sin in cloch o mhulluch gu lar ocus do bhi in *claidheamh* slan da éis.⁹ Do thinnscain iar sin a buabhall eboire do sheinn, innus, co ticeadh nech eicin dona *Cristaighibh* da roibhí a bhfholach isna coilltibh chuigi, *no co n-impáideadh* drong eicin da ndechaidh tar na portuibh chuigi, ocus gu mbeidís re h-adhlacadh¹⁰ a cuirp ocus gu ngabhdais a *claidheamh* ocus a ech do leanmhain na *Serrisdíneach*. Ocus do chuir an mheit sin do nert ocus do bhrigh na anail ac seinm in *bhuabhuill* innus cor scoilt ar dho¹¹ he, ocus aithristear fos gur bhrisetur féithí ocus cuislinna ina *bhraghuit* leis.

Do threoraigh in t-aingel guth in bhuabhuill sin a gcluasaibh Serluis isin gleann re n-abar Gleann Serluis, mar ar saidheadh a phubull, maille na shluagh, oct mili do leith na Gaiscúine on

1. cia gambeir F. 2. é not in *Lis*. 3. Tinnmus F. E. omits the passage. 4. E. omits last fifteen words. 5. gach minca E. & F. 6. *crecht-nochaidhe* E. & F. 7. andoigh co teigemadh E. 8. andoigh co mbriseadh e E. mbrisidh F. 9. ocus is *amlaidh* do sgar in *claidhem* risin cloich, do sgoilt se i nir miste e fein E. (F. nearly the same). 10. ocus rehaidhaigh (?) E. *Lis* has gu *mbheidis*. 11. ar a do E. & F.

from this out. Who shall be possessor of thee, and who shall have thee, and who grasp thee ! He who shall have thee will be invincible,^a for it is by thee Saracens are killed and the treacherous tribe destroyed, and the Christian law exalted, and praise and glory sought for God. Very great is the number of times I have slain and hewn down Saracens with thee,^b to exalt the Christian faith ; often with thee have I avenged the blood of my own lord, Jesus Christ, for every time so often as I slew a guileful Jew or Saracen with thee even so often I am sure did I avenge the blood of Christ.^c O sword keenest of all swords, there never was thy like and there never shall be, for he who made thee never made the like of thee before or after thee. Anyone who was wounded by thee could not live. I were grieved to think that an ignorant or cowardly knight or a Saracen or any other treacherous one should have thee.

After those words, in order that the sword might not come into the hands of the Saracens, he smote three blows of it on the marble stone that was before him^d so that he might break the blade.^e Those blows^f split the stone from top to bottom yet the sword remained whole after it. Thereafter he began to sound his ivory horn^g so that some one of the Christians—of those who were in hiding in the woods—might come to him, or that some of those who had gone beyond the passes might return to him, that they might be there to bury his body, and that they might take his sword and his horse to pursue the Saracens. And he put so much strength and vigour into his breath in sounding the horn that he split it in two, and it is related also that the sinews and veins broke in his neck.^h

The angel directed the voice of that trumpet to the ears of Charles in the valley which is called Charles's Valley, where his tent was pitched, together with his host, eight miles on the Gasgony

^a The Latin has the following sentence which is not in the Irish : “ non attonitus non formidine inimicorum perterritus non ullis fantasiis pavidus sed semper erit divina virtute fretus divino auxilio circumdatus.”

^b quotiens inimicos Christi peremti. ^c Both the Latin texts add “ per te Dei judicia adimplentur pes manusque assuetae latrocino amputantur.”

^d Lit. “ in his presence.” ^e Lit. “ it.” ^f Lit. “ that blow.”

Dedevant lui ad une pierre brune

Dis colps i fier, ne freint ne s'esgruniet. *Chanson de Roland.*

^g tuba altisona tonitruare. ^h venae colli ejus et nervi rupta fuisse feruntur.

inadh a roibhi Rolandus. Ar na cloistsin sin do Sherlus do fhobair impodh a chedoir d'fhurtacht Rolanduis, ocus do thoirmisc Gan-alonus é. Or do bhi fis oigeda¹ Rolandus aigi, ocus [aseadh F.] adubhuit “a Thighearna na himpa, or is beg an chuis fa a seinnfedh Rolandus a bhuaball ; ocus bidh a fhis agad nach ric² a les fortacht anois, acht is dóthcha a beith ag fiadhuch *no ag lenmhain bethidhigh allta eicin tresna coilltibh.*” Ocus as truagh na comhairledha cealgacha sin a *cosmhailiùs braith* Iudais mheabluigh ar a thighearna. Ar mbeith do Rolandus na loighi ar fer in mhuighi do ghabh tart adhbhul he, ocus tainic Baldonius a *bhráthair* chuiġi ocus do ghuighi é fa uisgi do thabhairt dó, ocus do chuaidh Baldonius dá gach leith d'iaraidh usgi, ocus ní fhuair. Ocus ar n-a faicsin-sium a ngaire do bas,³ do cheileabhraigh dho, cu nach tecmad é fein a lamhaibh na Serrisdíneach. Do chuaidh ar ech Rolanduis ocus ruc a *chlaidheamh* leis,⁴ ocus do lean sluagh Serluis.

Ocus, ar n-imthecht dó, tainic Teidricus a cedoir cum Rolanduis,⁵ ocus do bhi ag a chaínedh go dicra ocus aga radh ris a anum do dhaingniughadh o fhaisitin an creidmhe,⁶ or do ghabh Rolandus corp *Crist* in la sin fein, ocus logad a phecadh o shacartaibh do bhi ar in sligidh re ndul cum in chatha dho. Or fa bes doibh in drong do theigheadh cum catha dhibh do dhaingniughad a n-anmann o corp *Crist*, ocus o fhaisitin, tre lamhuibh sacart ocus esbac ocus manach re ndul isin cath. Is ann do thocaibh Rolandus mairtír Dé, a shuile cum nimhe ocus adubhaint [co derach aith[r]each E.] na briathra so: “A thighearna a Isú *Crist* o's ar son do chreidim do fhacbus mo dhuthaigh ocus tanac is na crichibh barbarda⁷ so d'ardughadh do cristaigheachta-sa, ocus do bhrises moran do cathaibh ar chineadhachaibh⁸ ainghidhi ar na m’

1. adhaigh F. “oighidh” E. 2. rige . . . a furtacht E. 3. angaire bais F. & E. 4. F. & E. omit last five words. 5. prinnsa na crodhachta E. 6. in creidim koilik [=catoilice] E. K stands in these MSS. for “cath” and “ca.” 7. allmurda E. & F. 8. ar cineachaibh E.

side from the place where Roland was. When Charles heard that, he made as though^a to return at once to succour Roland, but Ganalon prevented him. For he knew the fate of Roland and said, "my lord do not turn back for it is a small cause for which Roland would sound his horn, and know that he requires no aid now, but it is more likely that he is hunting or pursuing some wild beast through the woods." Alas ! those deceitful counsels, after the similitude of the treachery of false Judas to his lord !

As Roland lay on the grass of the plain a dreadful thirst took hold of him, and Baldonius,^b his kinsman,^c came to him and Roland besought him to give him water; and Baldonius went in every direction to look for water and he found none. And seeing Roland near death he bade him farewell so that he himself might not fall into the hands of the Saracens. He mounted Roland's steed and took his sword with him and followed Charles's army. And on his departing came Tedricus^d at once to Roland and was lamenting bitterly for him and bidding him fortify his soul by confession of the faith, for Roland had received the body of Christ that very day and absolution for his sins from priests who were on the road before his going into battle. For it was their custom—all of them who used to go to battle—to fortify their souls by the body of Christ and by confession at the hands of priests and bishops and monks before going into the fight. It was then Roland, God's martyr, raised his eyes to heaven and spake these words with tears and penitence : "O Lord Jesus Christ since it is for thy faith I have left my country and have come into these barbarous lands to exalt thy Christianity, and I have broken

^a voluit. The Chanson de Roland relates thus:

Li quens Rollanz par peine e par ahan
Par grant dulur sunet sun olifant
Par mi la buche en salt fors li cler sancs
De sun cervel li temples en est rumpant
De l' corn qu'il tient l' oie en est mult grant
Carles l' entent ci est as porz passant.

^b Baldwinus. ^c "His kinsman," or perhaps "brother," is not in the Latin. Tradition preserved the name of the steed, Veillantif.

Sur Veillantif sun bon cheval curant.

^d Tedricus C. Theodoricus F.

daingniughad ott furtacht-sa, ocus do shuilnges moran do *theas* ocus d'fhuacht ocus d'ítain¹ ocus d'ocuras ocus do dhocamhlaibh ele ar do shon, cuirim m'anum ar h'inchuibh isin bhethaidh-si. Ocus amhail ro bo dhingbhala leat do geinemhain ar mu shon ocus dul a croich ocus bas d'fhaghail ocus dul a n-adlacad ocus eirghe o mharbhaibh in treas la ocus dul ar nemh nar fhacbais² riam gan do cumhacta ar lathair ann,³ gurab mar sin bus dingbala *let* m' anam-sa do saeradh o'n bas shuthain. Or admhaim mu *beith* cintach pechtach níis mo ina mar as eidir leam a innisi. Gidhedd o atai-si mor-trocuireach [grásamhail E.] ag maithemh na n-uli pecad ocus gu ndene trocuire ar gach nech ghuighis tu⁴ ocus nach fuaith leat ní dha ndernais⁵ ocus cu ceili na *pecaidh* ocus *co ndermuide* do shír iat in la *impaidius* in pechtach *cugut* ocus do ní aithrighi (or do choiclis lucht na cathrach dar ainm Ninue⁶ ar ndenum aithrighi dhoibh, ocus do mhaithis a *pecadh* don mna⁷ frith ag denum an adaltruis ocus do mhaithis a cair [co h-imlan E.] do *Mhuire Maddalen*⁸ ocus do oscluis doirrsi *Parrthais* don *ghaduidhi* ar ndenum a *fhaisitneach*⁹ dho) na diult dam-sa anugh logad mu *phecadh*, ocus maith dhamh gach ar *pheacthaigheas* at' *aghaidh*, ocus suidhigh mh' anum isin cumsanad shuthain; or is tusa fo dera gan ar cuirp-ne do dul gu *dímhaineach*, acht a *claechlodh* a sdaid is ferr,¹⁰ ocus is tú do ní an t-anum, ar ndealughadh risin corp, do *bheith* beo, a *mbethaidh* as ferr, ocus as tu adubhairt nar bh'ail *leat* bas in *pheacthaigh* acht a *bheith* na *bethaidh* chum *impoidh* do. Creidim om' *chridhi* [ocus o mh'anum E.] ocus admhaim om' bel gurub uimi is ail *leat* mh' anam do *bhreith* on *bethaidh* so da *beith* beo a *mbethaidh* as ferr. Creidim fos, a mbi idir scaile ocus corp, go mbi¹¹ sin do mhaith ar in ceil agus ar an *tuicsin* bias aigi, tar mar ata anois."¹²

1. tart E. & F. 2. robuis F. 3. F. omits "ann." 4. F. & E. omit last three words. 5. Thus F. & E. *Lis.* has "nderna." 6. ninuie F & E. 7. *Lis.* has "mna." 8. F. & E. omit the second d. F. aspirates the d. 9. *fhaisidi* F. *faisidin* E. 10. Thus F. & E. *Lis.* has "a stuit is ferr." 11. sic E. *Lis.* mbia. E. has "in *meide* sin do maithius." 12. ata ann anois E.

many battles over vicious tribes fortifying myself by thy aid, and I have suffered much heat and cold and thirst and hunger and other hardships for thy sake, I place my soul under thy protection in this life.^a And even as thou didst think it worthy to be born for me and to go upon the cross and die and be buried and rise from the dead the third day and go to heaven, which thou didst never leave without thy power being present there, even so mayest thou think it worthy to save my soul from eternal death. For I acknowledge that I am guilty and sinful more than I can tell. Howsoever since thou art great and merciful^b and gracious forgiving all sins, and since thou shovest mercy to every one who prayeth to thee and hatest nothing that thou hast made, and hidest away the sins and forgettest them for ever on the day the sinner turns to thee and repents—for thou sparest the people of the city named Niniveh when they repented, and thou didst forgive her sin to the woman who was found committing adultery, and thou didst wholly forgive her crime to Mary Magdalene,^c and thou didst open the doors of Paradise to the thief when he made his confession,—do not refuse me to-day forgiveness of my sins, and forgive me all that I have sinned against thee, and seat my soul in rest eternal; for it is thou art the cause of our bodies not going waste but of their being changed into a better state, and it is thou who makest the soul on parting from the body to be alive in a life that is better, and it is thou who hast said that thou didst not desire the death of the sinner, but that he should live to turn again. I believe from my heart and soul and I acknowledge with my lips that the reason thou desirest to take my soul from this life is that it may be alive in a life that is better. I believe moreover that all that there is [of difference] between shadow and body there will be the same amount of difference in the good [added after death] to the sense and the understanding a man^d shall have, beyond how he is now.

^ain hac hora. ^bLit. "great-merciful gracious." ^cThe Latin adds "et Petro lacrimanti relaxasti." ^dLit. "he." ^ePerhaps not very happily translated in the Irish. The Latin is plain: *Sensum et intellectum quem nunc habet tanto meliorem habebit quantum differt umbra a corpore.*

Ocus ag connmhail croicinn a ochta ocus a chigh, mar do aithris Tedericus, do raidh na briathra so maille h-osnáduibh deracha : “A Tighearna, a Isu *Crist*, a mheic Dhe bhi ocus Muire oighi, admhuim ocus creidim om’ innibh¹ uile gurab tu mu cennaightheoir ocus gu bhfhuili ad’ bethaiddh, ocus gu n-eireoch² fein as in *talmhain* isin lo dheighineach ocus gu bhfaiceabh asin coluinn-si Dia mu shlánaightheoir fein.” Ocus adubhaint ainsean fo thri ag cur laimhe ar a shuilibh “do chithfid na suili so he,” ocus ag osgladh a shul aris do fhech do chum níme ocus do daingnigh a uilinn a ailt³ ocus a bruinne o comharthi na croiche naemtha, ocus adubhaint : “As deroil leam gach uili ni *talmhaidhe*⁴ anois, or sailim co bhfaiceabh do mhuin tindlaicthi De ní nar shill suil ocus nach cuala *cluas*, ocus nach dechaidh a craidhe duine do⁵ *ullmhaigh* Dia don droing ler ab inmuin he.” Ocus as a aithli sin do thocuibh a lamha cum a Dhia fein,⁶ ocus do rinne edarghuighi ar son na droindi fuair bas isin chath, ecus adubhaint : “A Thighearna,” ar se, “dail do throcaire ar h’fhirenuibh fein fuair bas aniuigh isin cath, ocus tainic a crichuibh imciana is na tiribh allmhárdha so do *cathughadh* ris in cineadh meabluch, ecus d’ ardughadh hanma naemhtha-sa, ocus do dhíghaile h’fhola uaisli, ocus d’ foillsiughadh do chreidimh, ocus atait anois na loighi ar faghbhail bais do lamhaibh na Seirrisdineach ar do shon-sa, ocus scris a Thighearna a pecuidh co trocuireach ocus saer a n-anmann a pianuibh iffrinn ocus cuir h’archaingeal⁷ naemtha do shaeradh a n-anmann o flathemnas in dorchaduis, ecus da mbreith isin flathemnus neamhdha, innus gu mbeit a comhfhláithius ret mhairtiribh naemhtha, farit fein,⁸ gun crich [gan forcenn E.]

Ocus aga fhacbhail do Thedricus ac denam na h-urnaightheoir ocus na faisitneach so, do scar anum Rolanduis a cedoir re na chorp ocus do thimurchadh⁹ ag na hainglibh he isin cumsanad suthain, mar a bhfhuil in flathemhnas ocus in gairdechus gan forcenn, ar na cengal re corugh¹⁰ mairtireach naemtha tre dingmaltacht¹¹ a gniomhára [ocus a oibrighthi fein E.]

1. om anmain ocus om uile br— E. 2. sic F. also; E. has “eirochadh.”
 3. a uile alt E. & F. 4. a *talmain* E. 5. E. & F. read noch do.
 6. chum Dia E. 7. ardaingil E. 8. a cumann ocus a caidreab red
 mairtireachaibh F. co mbeit comflathemhnas acu re m. n. farut
 fein E. 9. do himcradh E. himurcad F. 10. corad F. corug— E.
 11. dingmalacht E. & F.

And grasping the skin of his bosom and breast, as Tedricus related, he spoke these words with tearful groanings : "O Lord Jesus Christ, O Son of the living God and the Virgin Mary, I acknowledge and believe with all my heart^a that thou art my redeemer and that thou livest and that I myself shall arise from the earth at the last day and that I shall see God my own Saviour in this body." And he said then, thrice over, putting his hand upon his eyes, "these eyes shall see him" ; and opening his eyes again he looked to heaven, and he fortified^b his elbow, his joints, and his breast with the sign of the holy cross and spake : "Every earthly thing I think miserable^c now, for I think that I shall see by the gift^d of God a thing which eye never beheld and ear never heard and that never entered into the heart of man, which God has prepared for those who love him." And after that he lifted up his hands to his God,^e and made intercession for those who had died in the battle and he said, "O Lord, said he , "distribute thy mercy to thine own righteous ones who died to-day in the battle, and who came from far-away countries into these foreign lands to fight with the deceitful nation and to exalt thy holy name, and to avenge thy noble blood, and to show forth thy faith, and they are now lying, having died by the hands of the Saracens for thy sake, and O Lord mercifully blot out their sins and save their souls from the pains of hell, and send thy holy archangel to save their souls from the kingdom of darkness and to bear them into the heavenly kingdom so that they may reign together with the holy martyrs along with thyself world without end."

And when Tedricus left him making this prayer and confession the soul of Roland straightway parted from his body, and it was borne^f by the angels into the everlasting rest where is the heavenly kingdom and joy unending, joined to choirs of holy martyrs through the worthiness of their own deeds and works.

^a *Lit.* from all my inwards, totis visceribus. ^b coepit
omnes artus suos et pectus signo sanctae crucis munire. ^c Michi
villescunt C. ^d Christo donante. ^e *Lit.* "his own God." ^f transfertur.

In tan do scar anum Rolanduis re n-a chorpa, "ocus misi,"¹ ar¹ Turpinus, "isin inad remraidhти, i. a ngleann Serluis, ocus me ag radh aithfrinn na marbh a fiadhnuisi an impiri isin lo cedna i. in *cúigeadh*² callan dec do mi Iuil, do chuadhas a támh, ocus do chuala cora³ [aingel ocus arcaingel E.] ag canamhuin ciuil ag dul cum nimi. Ocus nír tuices-sa in ní sin. Ocus ag dul a n-airdi dhoibh do chonnac drong do ridiribh ag teacht na ndeghaidh maille dassacht mor mar do bheith creach leo, ocus do fhiachuigheas cu h-obunn [dibh] arsi Turpinus E.] "cret do bhi accu ag a breith leo. 'Ata againn,' ar siat, 'Marsirius ag a bhreith cum iffrinn. Bur trumpoir-si⁴ iomorro ata Michel ag a bhreith cum na cathrach nemhdha, maille moran eli leis.' Ocus ar canumhain in aithfrinn [dam F. & E.] do innisius⁵ don Impir gach ni da bhfaca, ocus adubhart ris : "Bidh a fhis agat co fir-inneach co ruc Michel archaingeal anam Rolanduis mällé moran d' anmannuibh Cristaighi eli leis cum nimhe; ocus ni fhedur-sa cret in bas fuair, ocus rucadar na diabail spirut duini eicin dar ainm Marsirius leo cum iffrinn, maille moran d' anmannuibh ainchristaighi eli."⁶

"Ocus, ag a radh sin damh, tainic Baldonius chughaim a cedoar ar ech Rolanduis, ocus do innis gach ni da ndernad ann. Ocus do innis gur fhacuibh Rolandus a n-airtecal⁷ báis a bhfhogus do⁸ cloich marmuir isin cnuc," mar adubhramar.

Ar leicen gairthedh ocus comharc isin tslúagh uili do thinn-isnaighedur⁹ cum an inaid a roibhi Reolandus, ocus tainic Serlus roimh chach, ocus fuair Rolandus na loighi gan anmuin ocus he sinti, ocus a lamha ar a ucht a bhfhighair na croisi cesda, ocus do loigh ar a mhuin, ocus do bhi [ag a pogadh ocus E.] ga chaínedh maille hosnadhaibh ocus re déruibh ocus re h-uallaibh¹⁰ ocus re hecaintibh dothuarascbhala, ocus do ghabh ag fascad a ghlac ocus a' scribadh a aighthi le a ingnaibh¹¹ ocus ag tarraing a fhuilt ocus a fhesóigi; ocus adubhaint do ghuth ard maille toirssi moir :

1. arsi E. & F. 2. in sechtmadh E. & F. 3. comradh E. 4. E. reads ata Michel ag a breith buain cum na cathrach n., etc. 5. do innis F. & E. 6. F. omits last five words. 7. aircetul F. E. seems to read forcedul. 8. don E. & F. 9. gluaiseadar F. & E. The sentence is turned quite differently in E. 10. nuallaibh E. & F. 11. F. omits last eight words but inserts "le na ingnaibh" after "fuit."

When^a Roland's soul had parted from his body, "I," said^b Turpin, "being in the above-named place, namely in Charles's Valley, and saying the mass of the dead in the presence of the emperor that same day, namely the fifteenth^c kalends of the month of July, fell into a trance and heard choirs of angels and archangels chanting music going up to heaven. And that thing I understood not. And after they had gone up on high, I beheld a band of knights coming behind them with great boldness, as though they had a prey with them, and I suddenly asked," said Turpin, "what it was they had which they were carrying off with them. "We have," said they, "Marsarius being brought to hell. Your trumpeter,^d however, Michael is bringing him to the heavenly city with many others along with him." And when I had sung the mass I told the emperor everything I had seen, and I said to him, "know thou for truth that Michael the archangel has brought Roland's soul with many other Christian souls along with him to heaven; but I know not by what death he died, and the devils have brought the spirit of a certain man whose name is Marsarius with them to hell together with many other unchristian souls."

And just as I had said that, Baldonius^e came to us straight-way on Roland's steed, and told everything that had been done. And he related that he had left Roland at the point of death close to a marble stone on the hill, as we have mentioned.

Uttering shouts and cries throughout the entire host they hastened to the place where Roland was, and Charles came before all others and found Roland lying lifeless stretched out with his hands on his bosom in the figure of the cross of crucifixion, and he lay over him kissing and lamenting him with sighs and tears and wailings and lamentations indescribable, and he fell to wringing his hands and tearing his face with his nails and plucking out his hair and beard, and he spoke with a loud voice in great

^aThe Irish translation omits here a short chapter in hexameters and pentameters entitled "De nobilitate moribus et largitate beati Rotholandi martyris." ^bThere is no "said" in the Latin. ^cSexto decimo.

^dtibicinem virum. ^eBalduinus.

“A lamh dhes mu chuirp, a mhaisi na Frangcach, a *claidhimh* na firentachta, a shleagh dho-fhillte, a luireach *nemh*¹ -truaillnighthi, a chathbhair in tslanaighthi [ocus na crodhachta E.] a bharamhail Judais Macabeus² ar crodhacht : a innshamhail Shamsoin ar laidiri : a leitheit Shaul ocus Ion[at]as³ ar thoicthi⁴ bais : a ridiri ro ghreanmhair do b’ eolcha a cathaibh idir na huili dhainibh ocus do ba laidiri ina gach nech. A cheinell righda, a scristoир na Seirrisdineach a ditnightheoir na Cristaighi, a mhur na cléireach, a lorg na n-anmhunn, a bhiadh na feedhbh, a shasad na ndaine⁵ mbocht ocus saidhbir, a edtromaidhtheoir na⁶ n-eglais, a thenga da nár aithnidh⁷ brecc a mbreithemhnas chaich, a Iarla uasail na Frangcach, a thaisigh shlúagh na Cristaighi, crét fa tucus isna crichaibh-si thu ! Cidh um a faicim⁸ marbh thu. Cidh um nach faghaim bas leat. Cid mu a bhfhabhai mhe toirrsech dimhaineach.⁹ As truadh mar atu¹⁰ bocht, ni shedur cred do ghen. Bí-si¹¹ ar bheathaидh maille h-ainglibh nime, ocus bi a ngairdeachus maille coroin na mairtireach ocus a forbhfaltius mailleis in uili naem, ocus biat-sa [re m’ re E.] agut chaine mar do chain Daibid Saul ocus Jonatas ocus Absalom.¹² Atai-si ar ndul a d’ thir dhuthaigh ar n-am¹³ fhacbhail-si co himsnimach [dobronach dubhach E.] ar in saeghal so. As taitneach do thegdhais-si¹⁴ ocus is bronach ar laithi-ne, ocus do bí h’aeis ocht mbliadna dec ar .xx.¹⁵ Ocus già adhluicter a talmhain thu atai ar ndul [a n-airde go glormur E.] cum fleigne¹⁶ Parrthais. Gurub uime sin as imshnimhach¹⁶ in saeghal ocus is forbhfailteach in flathemnus neamdhá gut anorad.

Ocus do bhi Serlus ac caine Rolandus do na briathraibh-si, ocus da cosmhailibh¹⁷ in cein do mhair. As a haithli [na cuma ocus na briathar E.] sin do shaidh Serlus a phubal in aghaidh sin isin inad a roibhi Rolandus marbh, ocus do urail corp Rolandus do chumhdach [ocus do maisiughadh E.] do bhalsaimm ocus do

1. E. & F. read do-t. for nemh-t. 2. Mic Ebeus F. Mic Abeus E.

3. Iouais F. E. seems to read the same. 4. toici F. toidhce E.

5. marbh ocus na d. mb. E. 6. Perhaps “edtromughadh.” etrumug—

E. & F. 7. nar thaithigh E. 8. ma fheithim F. 9. imsnimhach E.

10. ataim E. 11. beirsí F. 12. Jonas ocus Abstalon F. ocus Jonatas

Absolom ! E. 13. nar f—ne F. gar f—ne E. 14. as taithnemach

glormar do dtanmainsi E. 15. Thus E. Lis. has “flegh.” 16. Thus

E. & F. Lis. has “imshnimh.” 17 cosmailedh E

grief, "O right hand of my body,^a O beauty of the Franks,^b O sword of righteousness, O spear not to be turned,^c O breastplate unsullied, O helmet of Salvation and valour, O thou similar to Judas Macabaeus for valour, O thou like unto Samson for strength, O thou such as Saul or Jonathan was in the fortune of death,^d O knight right pleasant and of all men most knowledgable in battles and more powerful than any man, O royal offspring, destroyer of the Saracens, protector of the Christians, wall of the clergy, staff of the feeble, food of the widows, satisfaction of men poor and rich, lightener of the churches [burdens],^e tongue which in the judgment of all never knew a lie, noble earl of the Franks, chieftain of the hosts of the Christians, why did I ever bring thee into these countries ? Why do I behold thee dead ? Why die I not along with thee ? Why dost thou leave me sorrowful and desolate ?^f Alas ! how poor am I ! I know not what I shall do. Live thou with the angels of heaven, and be in joy with the crown of the martyrs, and in happiness with every saint, and I shall be, so long as I live, lamenting thee as David lamented for Saul and Jonathan and Absolom.^g Thou art going to thy native country leaving me full of care and sorrow and sadness in this world. Brilliant is thy abode but sorrowful is our day; and thy age was thirty-eight years. And though thou art buried in earth thou art going aloft gloriously to the feast of Paradise. Therefore it is that full of care is this world, and joyous is the heavenly kingdom honouring thee."

And Charles was lamenting for Roland with these and like words so long as he was alive.^h After that lamentation and those words Charles pitched his tent for that night in the place where Roland lay dead, and he gave orders to preserve and adorn Roland's body with balsam and myrrh and

^a The Latin adds barba optima. ^b Gallorum. ^c inflexibilis. ^d mortis fortuna. ^e revelatio ecclesiarum. ^f inanem. ^g The Latin breaks into verse as follows:—

Tu patriam repetis, nos triste sub orbe relinquis,
Te tenet aula nitens, nos lacrimosa dies.
Sex qui lustra gerens octo bonus insuper annos
Ereptus terrae justus ad astra redit.
Ad parasidas epulas te cive reducto
Unde gemit mundus gaudet honore polus.

^h his verbis et his similibus Karolus Rotholandum luxit quamdiu vixit.

mirra ocus d' aloes ocus do rinnedar cach uili a fhaire cu h-anorach [frichnamach E.] re hedh na h-oighthi sin, maille canntaireacht ocus re caintibh¹ ocus re lóchrannuibh [ocus re tapairibh E.] do bheith ar lasad na thimcheall ocus re teinntibh d' adhaint ar fud in fhega [ocus na coilleadh E.] co huilidh. Ocus do chuadar a mucha in lai ar na mharach, armtha eidighthi, cum an inaid ar cuired [in t-ar ocus E.] in cath, ocus in a rabhutur in lucht cath-aignthi marbh isin glenn re n-abar Runcia.² Ocus fuair gach drong aca a caruit fein, cuid dibh marbh ocus cuid eli beo, ocus cuid a croilighi báis. As amlaith fuarudar Oluerus na loighi ar talmhain ar n-aitherrach on t-shoillsi shoeghalla cum na soillsi suthaini, ocus hé ar na shinedh a bhfhipair na croisi césta, ocus ar na chengal [ocus ar na cuibreath E.] do cordaiddhíbh cruaidi do chethra cuaillich,³ ocus a chroicenn ar na bhuaing de do⁴ scenaibh ro ghera, o inn⁵ a mheoir co a mhullach, ocus se ar na chirrbadh⁶ do ghaibh ocus do shoighdibh ocus do claidmhíbhbh o mhoran do bhuillibh. Ocus do tocbhadh eighmhe [ocus comairc F.] mora ocus brón ar nach roibhi nuimir acu or do bhi gach nech dhibh ag caine a charat fein, ocus do linadur na glennta ocus coillti do comharcaibh ocus d' eighmhíbhbh [ocus do basgaire E.].

As a aithle sin do luidh in ri fa Ein-nDia⁷ uili-chumachtach nach anfad ac lenmhain na Padanach no go fagad iat. Ocus in tan do b'ail leis a luighi do choimhlínadh do mhuin ghnima, do thadhbhaisedh⁸ doibh an grian do bheith na comhnuidh ocus in la ar na fhaidiughadh re spas tri la. Ocus fuair ainsean na Seirrisdínigh [an a suidhi F.] ag caithim a codach laimh risin sruth darub ainm Ebra⁹ a ngar do inad re n-abar Cesar Agusta,¹⁰ Ocus do dhoirt¹¹ in ri na cenn mar leomhan ag dul ar creich.¹² Ocus ar mharbhadh cethra mile dhec¹³ dibh do impo in ri cona shluagh arís cum in gleanna re n-abar Runnsia. Ocus ar mbreith a ndaine marb ocus loitide ocus eslan leo cum an inaid a roibhi corp Rolanduis do thindscain

1. coinnlib E & F. 2. Ruinsia F. & E. 3. F. omits last three words.

4. le E. & F. 5. finn F. & E. 6. E. inserts several other synonymous verbs. 7. *Lis.* has *einndia*. F. & E. *endia*. 8. *foillsighedh* F.

9. Eabra E. 10. sesar augustus E. 11. E. adds ocus do spor.

12. dul fo ellach E. 13. *ceitri mile* E. & F.

aloes, and every one waked^a him with honour and fervour during all that night, with chanting and candles [E. & F.] and with lamps and tapers lit around him and with kindling of fires throughout the entire grove and wood. And early on the Morrow they marched in arms and armour to the place where the battle had been fought and the slaughter made, where the fighting men were [lying] dead in the valley which is called Runcia.^b And every band of them found their own friends, some of them dead and some of them alive, and some of them in the agonies of death.^c And this is how they found Oliver, lying on the ground changed from the light of this world to the light eternal, stretched out in the figure of the cross of crucifixion, and bound and fastened with hard cords to four stakes, his skin taken off him with full-sharp knives from the tips of his fingers to his crown, and mangled^d with many blows from spears and arrows and swords. And great lamentations and cries were raised and [sounds of] grief beyond number by them, for every one was lamenting his own friend, and they filled the valleys and woods with outcries and wailings and clapping of hands.^e

After that the king sware by the one omnipotent God that he would not desist from following the Pagans until he found them. And when he desired to fulfil his oath by carrying it into deed it appeared to them that the sun was at a stand-still and the day lengthened for the space of three days. And then he found the Saracens eating their meal beside the stream which is called the Ebra^f close to a place which is called Caesar Augusta. And the king burst^g upon them like a lion going for a prey. And after killing fourteen^h thousand of them the king returned again with his army to the valley which is called Runnsia.ⁱ And taking their dead and wounded and sick people with them to the place where Roland's body was, Charles began to enquire

^a *Lit.* "watched," "exequias peregerunt. ^b in Runcievalle C. Runcia-valle *Fr.* ^c letaliter vulneratos. *Crolihi* usually means "lying in gore."

^d *Jaculisque et sagittis lanceisque et spatis perforatum magnisque ictibus baculorum attritum invenierunt.* ^e One word "clamoribus" stands in the Latin for these three. ^f *Ebro.* ^g *Lit.* poured, see note h, p. 79.

^h The Latin texts read 4,000. ⁱ *ad Runcievallem C. ad Runciamvallem Fr.*

Serlus a iarmhoracht ar¹ bhfir *no ar² brég* gur b'e Ganalonus do thinnlaic na cathaighthi cuigi,³ mar adubhratar moran. Ocus do urail a cedoир da ridiri armtha eidighthi do chur cum comraic d' fhoillsiughadh na firindi .i. Pinapellus a hucht Ganalonuis, ocus Tedericus⁴ a hucht Serluis. Ocus do thuit Pinapellus a cedoир. Ar bhfoillsiughadh braith Ganalonuis mar sin do urail Serlus a cengal as scotaib⁵ ceathra sdet uaibhreach ocus do chuir marcach ar gach sded dibh da mbrosdughadh⁶ o cheile is na ceathra hairdibh. Ocus ar scoltad chuirp Ganalonuis o chele mar sin, fuair bas mar do dliged.*

As a haithle sin do cumhdaighetur cuirp na ndaine marb sin maille [*neithibh dedhbalaidh* examla .i. cuid dib maille F. & E.] mirra, ocus drong le balsam,⁷ ocus drong le haloe,⁸ ocus sochaidhi ag nach bidís neithi deghbhalaidh do scoiltdis cuirp a carad ar a mbronnuibh, ocus do chuirdis salann orra. Drong ele dhíbh do hadlacad isin inad in ro marbad. Ocus do imcratar⁹ drong ele dibh cuirp a carat leo isin *Fraigc* da n-adhlacadh, an a n-inadaibh dilsí.¹⁰ Ocus do batar da reilic uaisli choisercta¹¹ a focus doibh ann sin .i. reilic dibh isin inad re n-abur Arelaten¹² ocus reilic ele san inad re n-abar Burdegal¹³ do fhulair in t-impíri do choisercad do lamhuib vii n-esbag do bhi na fhochair, ocus as inntibh sin do h-adlacad in chuid is mo dá fuair báis ann sin.

Ocus in drong fuair báis a mullach slebhe Garsim, ris nar ben arm, is annsna reilgibh sin, do h-adlaicedh iat, ar comailt neithe

1. arfhír F. Narbfír E. 2. nar E. 3. na ka Criostaighi E. "an K" (i.e. cath) F. 4. Tredicus E. & F. 5. a foltaib E. & F. 6. dasporad ocus dambrostugadh ocus daspregadh o cheile E. 7. balsamus E. 8. haloes E. 9. beridh? F. 10. duthaigh disle E. duthaigh fein F. 11. coisrica F. coisregtha E. 12. Elate E. 13. Partegal E. Burtigal F.

* Sur tuz les autres l' unt otriet li Franc
Que Guenes moerget par merveillus ahan,
Quatre destriers furent amener avant;
Pois, si li lient e les piez e les mains.
Li cheval sunt orgoillus e curant;
Quatre serjant le acoeilrent devant

whether it was true or false that it was Ganelon who had gathered the warriors to him,^a as many said. And he forthwith ordered two knights in arms and armour to be set to fight to make manifest the truth, namely Pinapellus on behalf of Ganelon, and Tedericus^b on behalf of Charles. And Pinapellus^c fell at once. The treachery of Ganelon being revealed in this manner, Charles ordered him to be bound to the tails of four high-mettled steeds and he set a rider on each steed of them, urging them apart towards the four airts. And Ganelon's body being split asunder, in this way he died, as was his due.

After that they covered the bodies of those dead men with various fragrant things, some with myrrh and some with balsam and some with aloes, and numbers of those who had no perfumes used to split the bodies of their friends [opening] their breasts and stomachs and used to put salt upon them. Others of them were buried in the place where they were slain. And more of them carried the bodies of their friends with them into France to bury them in their own places. And there were two noble graveyards consecrated near them there, one of them in the place which is called Arelatem^d and another graveyard in the place which is called Burdegal,^e which the emperor ordered to be consecrated at the hands of seven bishops^f who were in his company, and it was in these the greater part of those who died there were buried.

And those who died on the summit of Mount Garsim, whom no weapon ever touched, it was in these graveyards that they

^a pugnatoses tradidisset. ^b Tedericum C. Therrdicum *Fy.* ^c Pinabellus.
^d Arles. ^e Bordeaux. ^f The Latin text gives the names of the seven bishops and of their sees.

Devers une ewe ki est en mi un camp.
 Guenes est turnez à perdition grant.
 Trestuit si nerf mult li sunt estendant,
 .E tuit li membre de sun cors derumpant
 Sur l' herbe verte en espant li cler sancs
 Guenes est morz cume fel recreant
 Ki träüst a autre neu est dreiz qu'il s'en vant.
 Chanson de Roland.

ndeadbhalaidh da corpuibh. As a aithle sin do fhurail Serlus corp Rolanduis d' imchar ar dhá mhúl *cus* an inad re n-abar Balueum ocus do h-adlacadh co hanorach [uasal E.] he a n-eglais Romanuis, do fhulair se fein do denam roimhe sin, ocus an ar chuir cananaighe riagalta. Ocus do cuired a claidhiomh ac a chinn ocus a buaball ebori ac¹ a chosaibh mar inncomurtha a ghaiscid ocus a chrodhachta.

“A cind begain aimsiri na dhiaigh sin,” ar Turpinus, “do foillsighedh bas in righ .i. Serlus dam-sa, mar so. La da raba² isin cathraigh re n-abar Uienna³ isin n-eclais a fiadhnuisi na h-altoire co ndechadhas a tamh [ocus a taisi E.] ocus me ag denumh urnaighти ag rádh in tsailm-si Deus in adiutorium meum intende, tadhbhas⁴ damh sluagh di-airmhe do ridiribh ag dul torum cum cathrach Letarangia.⁵ Ocus ar n-imthecht doibh uile do connac nech dibh a cosmailius fir ghuirm, ocus he ag leanmhain chaich ar siubhal mhall, ocus adubhart ris ‘ca slige a teighthe.’ ‘Téighmid,’ ar sé co hAqis⁶ Granis d’ innsaighidh bhais Serluis Impir, do breith a spiride⁷ cum ithfrinn.’ Ocus adubhart-sa⁸ ris ‘Cuirim ort [ocus cenglaim dít E.] a n-ainm Isu Crist mu thighearna techt⁹ dom innsaighidh ar crichnughad do thurais duit. Ocus ar ndenumh becain comnuidhi na dhiaigh sin, is ar eicin do crichnaighius in salm, in tan ad connac iat ar n-impod ar in suidhead cedna. Ocus adubhart ris in bhfer ndeighineach dhibh ‘cred do ghnoaigheabhair¹⁰ o shin’? Do fhreguir an diabal ocus adubhaint ‘Do chuir in Gailinseach gan cenn¹¹ in mheid sin do clochaibh ocus do mhaidibh a eglais isin mheidh innus gur truime¹² maith Serluis inait a uilcc; gurab uime sin ruc a anam uainne.’ Ocus

1. Thus F. *Lis.* has “os.” E. I cannot make out. 2. robasa F. rabha E. 3. uiuenna E. uicsenna F. 4. tabhas E. 5. letairngia F. & E. 6. 6. haicsis E. aicis F. 7. spirat E. anma F. 8. se *Lis.* 9. into E. inntogh F. 10. gnodheabairsi E. gnodabursi F. 11. cinnedh E. 12. Thus E. & F. *Lis.* has “truma.”

were buried, fragrant stuffs having been rubbed upon their bodies. After that Charles gave orders that Roland's body should be carried on two mules to the place which is called Balveum^a and it was honourably and nobly interred in the church of [St.] Romanus, which he had himself before that ordered to be built and where he had established canons regular. And his sword was placed at his head and his ivory trumpet at his feet as a mark of his heroism and valour.^b

"At the end of a short time after that," says Turpin, "the death of the king, that is of Charles, was revealed to me in this wise. On a day that I was in the city which is called Vienna in the church before the altar, I fell into a trance and swoon, even as I was praying [and] saying this psalm *Deus in adjutorium meum intende*. There was revealed to me an innumerable body of knights going past me to the city of Letarangia.^c And when they had all gone by I saw one of them in the likeness of a Moor,^d following the rest at a slow walk, and I said to him 'what way do you go.' 'We go,' said he 'to Aquis granis^e to the death of the Emperor Charles to bring his spirit to hell.' And I said to him, 'I adjure thee and bind thee in the name of Jesus Christ my Lord to come [back] to me when you have finished your journey.'^f And having rested for a little while after that I had scarcely finished the psalm when I saw them returning in the same order. And I said to the last man of them 'what have ye achieved^g [or done] since'? The devil answered and said 'The Galician without a head put so many stones and sticks of his churches into the scale that Charles's good weighed heavier than his evils, and so in this wise he took

^a Blavium, *i.e.* Blaye. ^b After this there follows in the Latin a chapter and a half giving the names of those buried at Blaye and at Arles. This is omitted in the Irish. Then follows chapter 31 of *Fr.*, of the Council held at St. Denis, in which Charles made that see independent, also chapter 31 in Castet's text upon the Seven Arts. Chapter 30 of Castet's text which is chapter 31 of the Frankfort edition begins: "Hinc adunato episcoporum et principum concilio in Basilica Sancti Dionysii, etc. ^cversus Lotharingiam tendere, *i.e.* Lorraine. ^dLiterally a "blue man" as the Irish called the negro. ^eAquisgranum. ^fA story like this is told of the Irish Crom dubh in the book of Lismore. O'Longan's copy, fol. 110. ^gquid egisti.

ar rádh na mbriathar sin do chuaidh in diabhal ar neifní, ocus do thuices-sa as na neithibh-si Serlus do dhul don tsaeghal in lá sin, ocus a bhreith cum in *fhlaithemhnais* nemhdha mar do dhliged¹ tre edarghuihi San Sem, da nderna moran d'ecalsaibh. Ocus in la do scarus-sa ris a Uienna, do naiscius air, da bhfedadh techtairi do chur chugam d'innisin a bhais damh, damad tusca a bhas² ina mu bhas fein. Ocus do naisc-sen oram-sa mar an cedna. Ocus ar mbeith eslan do-san do cuimnigh ar a ghealladh ocus do aithin do ridiri do ba dalta dho,³ in uair do aitheonad bás 'na ghaire, a fhoillsiughad damh-sa," ar Turpinus. "Ocus a cinn .u. la ndec deis a bhais fuarus a fhis o n-a thechtaire, gu roibhi ag a gallrugadh⁴ do shir on *tráth* fa tainic as in Spainn cu la a bhais; ocus gu tabrad ar anmain na droingi adubhramar, do thuit isin chath, comhainm⁵ in lai in ar fulingedar martra ar gradh *Crist* .i. in vi⁶ callain dec do mhí Iúil, da mhili dhéig uingi dh'aircet, ocus in oiret cedna do thallanaib oir, ocus éadaighi ócus biadha imdha do bhochtuibh, gacha bliadhna, re feadh a bethadh; ocus co n-urailedh in oiret cedna dh' aithfreannaiib ocus do shaltrachaib do chantain ar a n-anmunnuibh ocus d' aíntibh do dhenam. Ocus do innis⁷ fos gurab é in la in a bhfaca-sa⁸ in taidhbhsí sin .i. in u⁹ callann dec do mhi Fhebhra,¹⁰ in tan do b'aeis don Tighearna ocht ced biadhan ocus cetra bliadna dec,¹¹ la in a ndechaidh sé don tsaeghal so, ocus gur h-adhlacad cu hanorach hé a Aquis¹² Granis, a n-eclais cruinn Mhuire do rinne sé fein."

[Ocus do cuala na comarthai so dfaicsin tri bliadhna re na bas, oir tharla gur claochluigheadh an grian ocus in re a ndath adhuat-mhar re fed secht la ocus F.]¹³ a ainm fein .i. Serlus prinnsa do bhi scribhtha ar balla na h-eacaisi remhraitti, do chuaidh as uadha fein, began re n-ec dho-san. Ocus in poirsi do bhi idir an eclais ocus an halla¹⁴ righdha do thuit uadha¹⁵ fein la a freasgabhala.

1. *Sic.* These three words not in E. 2. sic E. *Lis.* reads "he." 3. E. adds "fein, sul dechadh d'eag." 4. aga dalladh E. 5. a comhainm E.

6. Innis F. 7. ana facadh F. 8. Eabhra E. 9. F. transposes, 4 bl. dh. ocus ocht ced. E. adds ocus is e sin la prici (?) *verginis* ocus tuc fen a cailinnter (?) 10. aicsis E. 11. E. reads much the same. 12. talla E.

13. buadha E.

his soul from us.' And having said those words the devil disappeared^a and I understood from these things that Charles had departed from the world on that day, and had been brought to the heavenly kingdom, as was his due, through the intercession of Saint James for whom he built many churches.

"And the day I parted with him in Vienna, I bound him, if he were able, to send me a messenger to tell me of his death if it were to come sooner than my own death. And he bound me in like manner. And he being ill remembered his promise, and he ordered a knight who was a fosterling^b of his own that so soon as he should recognise death to be near him, he was to reveal it to me," says Turpin. "And at the end of fifteen days after his death I obtained knowledge of this from his messenger—that he had been constantly ailing from the time he came out of Spain to the day of his death, and that, for the souls of those we have spoken of who fell in the battle, on the anniversary of the day in which they suffered martyrdom for the love of Christ, namely the sixteenth kalends of the month of July, he used to give twelve thousand ounces of silver and the same number of talents of gold, and much clothing and food to the poor every year, during his life; and that he used bid chant as many masses and psalters^c for their souls, and perform fastings. And moreover he told me that the day on which I saw that vision, namely the 15th^d kalends of the month of February in the age of the Lord eight hundred and fourteen years was the day in which he departed from this world, and that he was buried honourably in Aquis granis^e in the round church of Mary which he himself had built.

And I heard that these signs were seen three years before his death. For it came to pass that the sun and the moon were changed into a fearful colour for the space of seven days, and his own name, moreover, "Prince Charles," which was written on the wall of the aforesaid church, disappeared of itself a short time before his death. And the porch which was between the church and the royal hall,^f it fell of itself on the day of his ascension

^a *Lit.* "went into nothingness." ^b *Latin* "evanuit." ^c *cuidam militi alumpno suo.* ^d *quinto.* ^e *psalteria.* ^f *apud Aquisgranum,*
i.e. Aix-la-chapelle. ^f *inter basilicam et regiam.*

Ocus in droichtet crandgháili¹ do rinne maille saethar mor a Maguncia² ar in sruth re n-abar Uehyn³ .vii. mbliadhna roime sin, do loscad⁴ uadha fein gu h-uilidhi.

La ele do Sherlus ac siubhal began aimsiri roim a bhas ocus tarla doinenn ocus gairbhthen⁵ mor cu h-obunn ann, co facas don righ lasair ag imthecht cu h-obunn⁶ o n-a *leith* deis co a *leith* cle, ocus ar ngabhaile gla moire dhó do thuit da ech cum talmhan. Ocus tancatar a companaigh cuigi, ocus do thocbhatar [o lar E.] he. Gurab iat sin innchomartada bais *Sherluis* ria n-ec dho. Ocus creidmit⁷ anois co bhfhuil a chuid do choroin na mairtir⁸ remraitti aigi. Or as derbh lind gur fhuiluing a chuid da saethar [ocus do documal E.] Ma *asedh* as in-tuicti ar an eisimlair so, in te chumhdaighius eacalsa *co n-ullmhuiigheann flaithius* De dho fein, or do saeradh Serlus o na diablaibh ocus do suidhead san flaithimnus nemdha he tre shurtacht ocus tre impidhi⁹ na naemh da nderna se saethar ocus eacalsa ocus anoir.¹⁰

* * * * *

As oirces a chuimhniughad ann so in mhirbail aithrisdear d'fhoillsiughadh do Dhia ar son *Rolandus*,¹¹ an tan do bhi na bethaidh re ndul isin Sbain do ; or in tan do bhi an t-iarla anorach sin re re .vii. míss¹² a timchioll na cathrach re n-abar *Granopolis*¹³ aga gabhaile maille sluaghuiibh do-airme *Cristaighe*, tainic techtairi co tindisnach cuigi da innisin do gu roibi Serlus brathair a mháthar a caislen a cathraigh¹⁴ a n-imeall na Germaine, ocus triur righ na thimchioll aga gabháil [ar éigin E.] air, .i. ri Uandalorum¹⁵ ocus ri Saxonum ocus ri Frixonum gu n-a sloughuibh, ocus do aithin [Searlus E.] de co deibireach¹⁶ dul maille na shluagh co tinnisneach

1. Cranngail E. 2. ar magh Uncia F. amad uncia E. 3. uehin E.& F.
 4. do loisg se E. loisged F. 5. gairbhsin E. 6. F. omits last 12 words.
 E. omits the last nine, and reads "gur fluchadh ocus gur baidheth" instead,
 which seems to make no sense when followed by "o leith des," etc.
 7. creidim anois, ar Turpinus E. 8. mairterach E. mairtir—E. F. omits
 "remraitti." 9. F. omits last three words. 10. F. omits these two words.
 11. do Rolandus o Dhia E. 12. mbliadhán! E. 13. granapuialis F.
 grana faillis E. 14. sic E. "acaislugadh a cathrach F. 15. badhol-
 orum E. 5. deib—c F. d7idech E.

[to heaven]. And the wooden bridge which he had built with great labour in Maguncia^a over the stream which is called Uchyn^b seven years before that, it was utterly burned without external cause.^c"

Another day as Charles was walking a little while before his death, there suddenly arose bad weather and a great storm, and there appeared to the king a blaze travelling rapidly from the right hand to the left hand, and he being greatly terrified fell off his horse to the ground.^d And his companions came to him and raised him up from the ground. So that those were signs of Charles death before his [actual] decease. And we believe now that he has his share of the crown of the above-mentioned martyrs. For we are certain that he endured his own share of their labour and hardship. It may be understood, then, from this example that he who builds churches is preparing the heaven of God for himself, for Charles was freed from the devils and was placed in the heavenly kingdom through the succour and entreaty of the saints for whom he had laboured and to whom he had given churches and honour.^e

* * * * *

'It is fitting to remember here the miracle that it is related God exhibited for Roland when he was alive before his going into Spain; for when that honoured earl had been for the period of seven months [encamped] round the city which is called Granopolis^f [trying] to take it with innumerable Christian hosts, messengers hurriedly came^g to him telling him that Charles, his mother's brother,^h was in a castle in a city on the borders of Germany with three kings round about him trying to take it, the king of the Vandals,ⁱ and the king of the Saxons, and the king of the Frisians^k with their hosts, and he hastily^l bade him come quickly with his

^a The various Latin texts read "apud mogontiam, mangontiam, magontiam, moguntiam, *i.e.* Mentz. ^bsuper fluvium Reni. ^cLiterally "from itself." For the construction of this Rhine bridge see the *Chanson des Saisnes*, clviii-clxvi.

^d in alteram partem de equo cecidit et aucona (arca *Fr.*) quam manu ferebat in alteram. ^eLit. for whom he made labour and churches and honour.

The Frankfort text of 1584 ends here. ^fThis chapter is an obvious addition to Turpin as the opening words, "sed valde dignum est ut inter

cetera," show. ^gGratianopolis. ^hvelox advenit paranimphus.

ⁱavunculus ejus ^jWandalorum. ^kFrisonum. mandans et efflagitans

da fhurtacht ocus da shaerad o lamhaibh na Seirrisdineach. Do gabh imshnimh Rolandus de sin, ocus do smuain¹ ga rogha do bheradh : An hi in cathair fa r' fulaing morán saethair ocus do b'ail leis do chur fa chuing Crist² do fhuicfeadh, ocus dul d'fhurtacht Serluis, *no* an e a leicean a nguasacht do ghenad ocus cathughad ris in cathair.³ Do b' e an fer in-mholta in gach ein ceim⁴ ocus lan do trocúiri, in te do bhi isin ceist sin idir in da comhairli sin.⁵ Ocus cluineamanois a ndearna an fer anorac[h] sin .i. Rolandus. Or do bhi tri la ocus tri hoidhche maille na shluagh, gan bhiadh gan digh, ag denumh urnaighthi ocus ag gairm Dhe da furtacht; ocus adubhairt "A Thighearna, a Ihesu⁶ Crist, a Mheic an athar nemhdha, do roinn in muir ruadh ar dhó, ocus do threoraigh popul Isr[ae]l⁷ trithe. ocus do bhaidh Faraoth innti ocus tuc do popul fein tresin fasach, ocus do trascair moran do na cineadhaibh⁸ do bhi na n-agaidh, ocus do marbh righa laidiri .i. Seon ri Amorreorum ocus Hoc⁹ ri Basan¹⁰ ocus flaithis Candan co huilidh¹¹ ocus tuc a tir mar oigreacht dot pobul fein do claimn Isr[ae]l ocus do scris a cedoир na muir¹² do bi a timchioll in tsluagh namat fo seacht,¹³ maille gothaibh buabull ocus adharc, gan chathughadh daena, gan tshas¹⁴ gan ealadhuin ele, scris¹⁵ a Thighearna neart na cathrach-so ocus a daingne ocus a a harmdhacht¹⁶ uili dod laim chumachtaigh /ein, innus gu n-aithnighe an cined Padanda (nac cuirenn a ndoigh innat tre na mbuirbe) do bheith ad Dia beo ocus ad righ as cumhachtaighe don uili righ ocus ad dhitnightheoir dona Cristaighibh ocus do bheith faris an athar ocus in Spirata naeimh a fhlaithimnus tre bithu sir." Ar ndenum na hurnaighthi si do Rolandus a cinn an treas la do thuiteadar muir na cathrach da gach leith gan duini do buain riu ocus do ruagad ocus do marbad na Padanaigh. Ocus do impo Rolandus cona shluagh a cedoир

1. smuaintig E. 2. creidim F. 3. sic E. *Lis.* has cathrach.

4. Kair F. cas E. 5. F. omits last five words. 6. a Isa E. Ysa F.

7. Isrl— *Lis.* Israhel F. Isrl E. 8. haicmeda F. haicmidhibh E.

9. Ogh E. 10. Barsa E. 11. F. omits last nine words. 12. namair E.

13. techt F. 14. gan sas E. 15. mar sin a Thighearna scris a neart na Seirristineach ocus na cathrach etc., E. 16. harmamlacht E. & F.

na Seirristineach ocus na cathrach etc., E. 16. harmamlacht E. & F.

army to succour him, and free him from the hands of the Saracens. Roland was filled with anxiety at that and he considered as to what his choice should be—should it be the city for which he had endured much labour and which he desired to place under the yoke of Christ that he should leave and go to succour Charles, or should he leave Charles in peril and war upon the city. It was the man praiseworthy^a in every single step [he took] and full of mercy, who was in this plight^b between those two counsels. And let us hear now what that honourable man Roland did. For he was for three days and three nights with his army without food, without drink, praying and calling upon God to succour him. And he said, “O Lord, O Jesu Christ, O Son of the Heavenly Father, who didst divide the Red Sea in two, and leddest the people of Israel through it and didst drown Pharaoh in it and didst bring thine own people through the wilderness and didst overthrow many of the nations who were against them, and who didst slay strong kings, Sihon king of the Amorites and Og king of Bashan, and the kingdoms of Canaan wholly, and didst give their land as an inheritance to thine own people the Children of Israel, and who didst destroy at once the walls which were round about the enemies host seven fold, with the voice of trumpets and horns, without human fighting, without engine and without other science [of war]—destroy, O Lord, the might of this city and its fortresses and all its armament^c with thine own powerful hand so that the heathen nation (which through its fierceness^d putteth not its trust in thee) may know that thou art a living God and the king most powerful of all kings, and the protector of the Christians, and that thou art along with the Father and the Holy Spirit in heaven for eternity.”

When Roland had made that prayer, at the end of the third day, the walls of the city fell on every side^e without any persons touching them, and the Pagans were routed and slain. And

^a O virum per omnia laudabilem.

^b *Lit.* “question.”

^c armaturam.

^d feritate.

^e But this miracle has been already recorded of Charles

d'furtacht Serluis isin Almain, maille gairdeachus ocus re gloir do Dhia; ocus do shaer Serlus on *guasach¹* a raibhi. Ocus is o Dhia do ronadh so ocus as *ingnadh* he in ar suilibh-ne. Ocus a flir leghas² so iar[r]³ furtacht do Thurpinus tre *trocure* De.

* * * * *

Ocus is beg d'aimsir⁴ dar eis bais Serluis do bhi *Turpinus* airdesbac Remuis na righ, *mairtireach*, na *bethaidh*, in tan fuair bas a *Uienna*⁵ le teinnes a cnedh ocus do scis gach saethar da bhfuair, ocus do h-adhlaiced he a focus don cathraig don *leith* ele do Rodanum, don taeibh thoir, a n-aroili *eclais*. Ocus fuaradar drong do cleirchibh na cathrach, isin aimsir deighinigh so, in corp ro naemtha sin, a *comra*⁶ chloiche ro-mhaith, ocus *beart* esbaic uime, ocus a chnamha ocus a *chroicenn imshlán* co uilidhi.⁷ Ocus tucadar on eclais sin he cum cathrach ele, ocus do adhlaicedh e a *teampoll* anorach, mar fuil se [a *comnuidhe* F. & E.] ag a ghuighe anois, ocus ata coroin mharthanach aigi ar nimh, do *ghnóaigh* se maille saethar mor a *talmhain*.⁸ Or as in-creitti in lucht do fhuilaing a martra isin Spainn ar son creidimh *Crist* curub dingbhala⁹ iat fa choroin¹⁰ ar nimh. Ocus as in-tuicthi gin gu fuair Serlus ocus *Turpinus* bas maille Rolandus ocus re hOluerus ocus maille moran ele do mhaitiribh a ngleann Runnsia,¹¹ gidheadh cena, fuaradar coroin marthanach isin *flaithemhnus* nemhdha. Or do fhuilngedor moran do chnedhaibh ocus do bualadh ocus do shaethar ocus do theinneas. Or adubhaint an t-esbal 'mar fhuilngimit in dochar is amlaidh do ghebhum in sochar,' *et reliqua*.

As inand Rolandus re radh ocus "Roth na hegna," or ruc se buaidh on uili rí ocus prinnsa a n-egna.

1. airc E. 2. Not in E. O'Curry's transcript of *Lis.* reads "as fir leghar so." O'Longan's copy reads "a flir leghar." I alter r to s. 3. F. omits last five words and makes nonsense. E. has after suilibh-ne "onus ar furtacht do *Turpinus* tre *trocure* De," which also seems nonsense.

4. Thus E. & F. *Lis.* reads "as i sin dhaimsir," or "as is ind aimsir."

5. auiuenna F. 6. *Lis.* has cothra. 7. gan brisedh E. 8. do gnodh- . . . a *flaithamnus* talmada F. 9. *dingmala* F. & E.

10. do *coronughadh* F & E. 11. *Remencia* E. & F

Roland turned with his host at once to succour Charles in Germany, with joy and with [giving of] glory to God, and he set Charles free from the peril in which he was. And it is of God that this was wrought, and it is wonderful in our eyes.

And O man who readest this ask succour for Turpin, through the mercy of God.^a

* * * * *

AND it was short time after the death of Charles that Turpin, Archbishop of Rheims-of-the-kings, [and] martyr, lived, for^b he died in Vienna through the sickness of his wounds and through the weariness of all the labours he had endured,^c and he was buried near to the city on the other side of Rodanum, the east side, in a certain church. And some of the clerics of the city in these later times found that most holy body in a fine coffin^d of stone, with a bishop's vestments round him and his bones and skin completely sound. And they took him from this church to another city, and he was buried in an honourable temple where he is ever prayed to now, and he has a lasting crown in heaven which he won with great labour on earth. For it must be believed that those who endured their martyrdom in Spain for the religion of Christ are worthy of a crown in heaven. And it may be understood that though Charles and Turpin did not die with Roland and with Oliver and many other martyrs in Runcia Valley, nevertheless they gained an enduring crown in the heavenly kingdom. For they suffered many wounds and much beating and labour and sickness. For the apostle has said, 'As we endure the loss so shall we find the profit,' etc.

[The name] Roland is as much as to say "wheel of wisdom"^e for he surpassed every king and prince in wisdom.

^a The Frankfort text ended with the death of Charles. Castet's text ends here. But what follows is given by Castet as an appendix, under the title of "Calixtus papa de inventione beati Turpini episcopi et martyris." Castet's text ends with the following lines of poetry : "Qui legis hoc carmen Turpino posce juvamen, Ut pietate Dei subveniatur ei." ^b *Lit.* "when." ^c *Lit.* "got." ^d *sarcofago.* ^e *rotulus scientiae.*

As inann Olverus ocus "Ridiri trocuireach," or do bhi se trocairech seoch an uili dhuine, ocus cennsa na comradh, ocus búidh ana oibreachaibh.

Serluis *imorro* i. "Soillsi na Colla" or do clai se gach uili rí talmaide¹ da tainic andiaigh *Crist* ar dealrad ocus ar subaltaibh,² ar crodacht ocus ar ecna.

Turpinus, *imorro*, quasi "non turpinus"³ i. "neamh-granna," or do b' imchian na drochbhriathra ocus na drochoibreacha uaidh.

* * * * *

As iat so na *neithi* tharla isin Sbain andiaigh bais Serluis, or gach ní tarla [d'aithle a bháis E.] ni hingnád a chuimhne ag ar menmain-[n]e air.⁴ Or in tan do bhi *talámh* na Sbaini a comsanad fada tar eis bais Serluis, tainic, ar furailim an *diabail*, gur eirigh *Seirrisdíneach* dar ainm Altumaior ri Cordubias,⁵ ocus adubhaint *talámh* na Spainne rugad ar eicin o na dainibh tainic roimhe, co mbeith se aigi fein, ocus co cuirfed fa *dligid* na *Seirrisdíneach* hc. Ocus do thinoil sluaighe mora cum scrisda na Sbaini, ocus tainig cum cathrach *San Sem* ocus do mhill gach ní da bhfuair innte, ocus do airg teagduis apostolicda *San Sem* co midingbala uma leabhraibh [ocus] uma buird aircit ; ocus na cluic ocus na *deisigh*⁶ aifriinn fuair and, ruc leis iat. Ocus an uair do batur ar aidhigheacht⁷ a teampoll *San Sem*, do bheirdis a bhfhuil ocus a bhferadh ar an altoir n-apstalicda,⁸ ocus nir fhuiling Dia na *neithi* so gan innechlan. Or tainic o furtacht subhaltaí De⁹ gur marbh flux inneadh drong dibh, ocus gur benadh a radharc as suilibh droingi eli, innus gu rabhadur ar *mearughadh* [ocus ar seachran E.] ar fut na cathrach. Cid tra do ghabh an dailli ugdar an uilc i. Altumaior, ocus tainicc do chomhairli sacairt da raibhi isin tempoll innus gur guidh¹⁰ se

1. talmanda F. 2. subaltaí F. subaltaigh E. 3. non tuirpis F. nemhdochra nemhgranna E. 4. sic E. *Lis.* has mbimainne and omits air, but O Longan notes that this word was written over, and is wrong. 5. Cornubia E. & F. 6. Thus E. deis F.

7. aidiacht F. aghacht E. 8. aposdolica E. 9. subaltaí Dia E. & F.

10. sic E. *Lis.* has "gunguigh se."

"Oliver" is the same as "merciful knight,"^a for he was merciful beyond every one, and mild in his discourse, and gentle^b in his works.

"Charles," moreover, that is "Light of the Flesh,"^c for he overcame every earthly king^d of all who came after Christ for splendour and virtues, for valour and for wisdom.

"Turpin," moreover, is as if "non Turpinus" that is "Not-hateful,"^e or evil words and evil works were far away from him.

* * * * *

THESE are the events that happened in Spain after the death of Charles, for everything that happened after his death it is no wonde that our mind should remember it. For when the land of Spain [had enjoyed] a long rest after the death of Charles, it happened, at the command of the devil, that there arose a Saracen whose name was Altamaior, king of Cordubia, and he said that he himself would have the land of Spain which had been taken by violence from the people who came before him, and that he would put it under the law of the Saracens. And he collected great armies to destroy Spain. And he came to the city of Saint James, and destroyed in it everything that he found, and he unworthily^f plundered the apostolic foundation of St. James of its books and silver tables; and the bells and vestments for mass which he found there he brought away with him. And when they were at entertainment in the temple of Saint James they used to filth ly defile the apostolic altar.^g And God did not suffer these things [to go] without retribution. For it came to pass by the help of the virtues of God that a flux of the bowels slew some of them, and the sight was taken from the eyes of others, so that they were wandering and going astray throughout the city. Moreover the blindness took hold of the author of the evil, even Altumaior, and he came, by the advice of one of the priests who was in the

^a heros misericordiae. ^b clemens. ^c lux carnis. ^d omnes reges carnales. ^e pulcherrimus, sive non Turpis. What follows here as part of the Irish text is given by Castet as another appendix. ^f Or perhaps "unfittingly." ^g excrementis inquinaverunt.

Dia uili-chumachtach da fhurtacht, ocus adubhaint na briathra so, 'A Dhia na *Cristaighi*, a Dhia *San Sem*, a Dhia Muire, a Dhia *Petair*, a Dhia Martain, a Dhia na n-uili *Cristaighi*, dá n-aisice¹ dham in tslainti chedna, diulftfad² mu Dia fein .i. *Macametus*, ocus ní thiceabh do dhenamh eicne co tempoll *San Sem* no go tí an brath. O a *Sin Sem* mhoir, da tuga tú slainte dom medhan ocus *rādarc* dom shuilibh gach ní rucus od tegdais aiseocat he.

Cidh tra, ar n-aisiuc na neithi sin co dublaigthi do tempoll *San Sem*, a cinn .u. la ndecc do h-aisiced a shlainti co himshlan don *Padanach* .i. Altumaior, ocus do fhacaibh *talamh* *San Sem*³ ocus do geall nach tiefad cum eicne⁴ and o sin suas.

Ocus do innisedh⁵ mirbhуili De ocus *San Sem* ocus do adhrad doibh.

Ocus tainic roimhe iarsin cus an mbaili re a raidh tear Ornír mar a raibhi eclais uasal ag *Beatus Romanus*⁶ ocus do ba *deadhmhaisech* an teghduis sin do⁷ *bhrataibh* ocus do *leabtraibh* ocus do *chrosaibh* aircit ar n-a n-orad. Tainic Altumaior d'innsaighidh na tegduisi sin, ocus do scris a liubair,⁸ ocus ruc leis ar eicin gach uili ní dha bhfhuair innti. Ocus ar mbeith da oighthi ar aidhigheacht⁹ do isin mbaile sin do chuaid taiseach a shluagh isin eclais sin, ocus do connaic peleir ro ailli cloichi do bhi mar fundament ag an eclais. Ocus do bhatar a n-uillena¹⁰ ar na cumdach dh' ór ocus d' arcet. Ocus ar na faicsin [sin F. & E.] do-san, do lin¹¹ se do shainnt, ocus do urail geinnteach do chur fo na peileruibh sin ocus a mbualadh le h-orduibh iaruinn. Ocus an nech do bi aga mbualadh tainic d'furtacht De in uair do thshail se an eglais do scris,¹² *co nderna* cloch don duine sin, ocus ata in cloch soin o shoin a-le a bhfraigair duine isin eclais [cedna F.] sin, ocus cosmuilius an datha do bhi in tan sin ar *edach*¹³ in tSeirrestin uirri [anois E.]

Ar na fhaicsin sin d' Altumaior adubhaint re na muinntir "As in-molta cu mor Dia na *Cristaighi* aga bhfuilid a leitheide

1. danaisigir E. & F. 2. diultochad E. & F. 3. na Spaine E.

4. eigin E. 5. do morad F. do innis se E. 6. eaglais rouasal *Romanus* E. 7. o F. 8. baile E. & F. 9. aighecht E.

10. E. seems to read badar mullaigh." *Lis.* has "anuill-a." 11. las E.

12. E. adds "onus do tuitin innus co nderna." 13. F. & E. omit "édach."

temple, and prayed to the omnipotent God to relieve him, and he spake these words: "O God of the Christians, O God of St. James, God of Mary, God of Peter, God of Martin, God of all Christians, if thou restorest me to the same health [I had] I shall renegue my own God even Mahomet, and I shall not come to do violence to the temple of St. James for ever. O great Saint James if thou grantest me health to my inwards and sight to my eyes, everything which I carried away from thy house I shall restore it."

However on restoring those things double to St. James' Church, at the end of fifteen days his health was restored whole to the Pagan, even to Altumaior, and he left St. James' land and promised that he would not come to do violence there from that out.

And the miracles of God and of St. James were told, and they were worshiped.

And he went forward after that to the town which is called Ornir where Beatus Romanus had a noble church, and that was a fair foundation, for vestments, and books, and silver crosses overlaid with gold. Altumaior came to that house and destroyed its books and took away with him by violence everything that he found in it. And when he had found entertainment for two nights in that town the leader of his hosts went into that church and beheld very beautiful pillars of stone that the church had as a foundation. And their angles were covered with gold and silver. And when he saw that, he was filled with covetousness, and he ordered wedges to be set under those pillars and to strike them with iron sledgehammers. And the man who was striking them, it came to pass by God's help when he thought to destroy the church, that that person became a stone, and that stone is ever since in that same church in the similitude of a man, and the like colour that was at that time on a Saracen's garments is on it now.

When Altumaior saw that, he said to his people, "the God of the Christians who has such servants^a is greatly to be praised,

^a *Lit.* "fosterlings" or "disciples."

sut do dhaltuibh, gid do chuatar siat fein don tsaeghal do niat indechaidh¹ ar na dainibh do ni dith doibh isin tshaeghul. Or ruc *San Sem* soillsi mo shul uili uaim-si, ocus do rinne Romanus *cloch* don duine [do bi ag bualadh an geinntigh E], gidhedh chena as ferr² *San Sem* ina Romanus. Or do aisicc *San Sem* mo shuili dhamh-sa ocus do dhiult Romanus mhe fa am dhuine. Mas *edh* facbham na cricha-sa.” Ocus do imthigh *co n-a* shluaghaib as in crich sin.³

Tairnicc in sdair sin ocus sailim gurub maith ata si.

CRIOCH.

1. innechadh E. & F. 2. cennsa E. 3. E. & F. add maille haithnighi.

although they have gone themselves from the world they [still] look closely to the people who do them damage in the world. For St. James took all the light of my eyes from me, and Romanus turned the man who was striking the wedge into a stone. Howbeit St. James is better than Romanus, for St. James gave me back my eyes but Romanus refused me about my man ! Then, let us leave these districts" ! And he departed with his hosts out of that land.

This history is finished and I think that it is a good one.^a

FINIS.

^a This is the colophon of the Lismore scribe only.

(*F. and E. add the following passage.*).

Ocus ni roibi re haimsir fhada inadiaigh sin nech do lam urcoid do denam do chrich Sin Sem. Maseadh bith a fhis ac gach aen nduine cuiris mi-cumsanad ar crich Sin Sem co fuidhi an *damnughadh*¹ co martanach, ocus cid be coimedfus iat o comachtaib na Serrisdinach do gebhaidh a luagh a flathamnas nemda. Oir do chuir Iul Sésair² mar innistear annsa Spain tri cinedha .i. Meuronos³ ocus Scotos⁴ ocus Cornubianos do scris *popail* na Spaine o nar b'aill leo cis do *tidlucadh* do, an uile fher do *cloidmidheadh* ocus an uili ban do legin as, ocus an tan do badar na cinedha sin ac siubhal na mara ar rochtain a tir doib do *brisidar* a longa ocus do loisgidur ocus do marbadar a tarla doib on *cathair* re n-abar Barremona⁵ co Sesair⁶ Augustus, ocus o *Cathair* Bagiona co sliab cce?⁷ ocus nir fhéidir dul tairis sin, oir do *tinoilidár* Catilane⁸ do *cathughadh* riu ocus ruagadur ona *crichibh* sin iad, ocus ag teitheadh doib-sin tangadur *chum* an sleibi⁹ *ata* idir Bagiaram ocus Pamplonium ocus Bagionam [a dul a *talamh* Bisgaei ocus Alainie (?) E.] ocus do suidhidar a foslongport annsin ocus do marbadar an uili *tiagharna* ocus fer fueradar annsin ocus rucadar a mna leo [deib fein E.], ocus do geineadh clann atura ocus na mna sin re *raitear* Nauaairi.¹⁰ Ocus is inann Nauairi¹¹ re radh ocus *iueros*¹² .i. ainfhirenach .i. "non vera *pergencia*" .i. clann maicne¹³ fallsa ar techt o treib ann-dilis.¹⁴ Ocus ad . . . ar¹⁵ fos Nauaros on catraig re n-abar Nadauer¹⁶ (?) oir as uaiti *tugad* an t-ainm ar¹⁷ *tús* ona *crichaibh* ut o tangadar ar tus, ocus is e Matha suibiscel ocus a aspuil do impo le n-a senmoraibh iat do cum creidim o tus riam.

Gurub amlaidh do crichnaighedh oighedh na ridire ocus imtechta ocus gabaltais *Serluis Móir* andsa Spain.

FINIT. AMEN.¹⁷

1. a dhanmughadh F. 2. lesair E. 3. E. seems to read Memuranos.

4. The first letter in E. does not seem an s. It may be "criotos."

5. Baremone E. 6. Cesar E. 7. aqe E. 8. E. seems to read Castilani.

9. na sleibhti E. 10. navarri E. 11. navarrus E.

12. non ueram. 13. From E. The word is not clear in F. 14. Thus E. F. seems to read "ainndius." 15. Perhaps "deirtear." 16. Thus apparently E. F. indistinct. 17-17. From E. F. is hardly legible.

AND there was no one for a long time after that who ventured to do injury to the country of Saint James. Then let every one who disturbs Saint James's country know that he will get damnation for ever, and whoever shall protect it from the powers of the Saracens he will get his reward in the heavenly kingdom. For Julius Caesar sent, as is related, three races into Spain, namely Meuroni and Scoti (?) and Cornubiani^a to destroy the people of Spain, since they were not willing to give him tribute, to put every man to the sword and to let every woman escape. And when those races had voyaged over the sea, on coming to land they broke their vessels and burnt them, and they slew all who met them from the city which is called Barremona^b to Caesar Augustus, and from the city of Bagiona^c to the mountain of Ce.^d(?) And they were not able to go across that for the Catilani^e assembled to fight with them and they routed them from those countiics. And in their flight they came to the mountain which is between Bagiaram and Pampilonium and Bagionam,^f going into the land of Biscay and Alania,^g(?) and they encamped there, and they slew every lord and man that they found there, and carried off their women for themselves. And children were begotten between them and those women, who are called Navarri. And Navarri is the same as to say Iveri, that is untruthful, that is non vera pergencia,^h that is false race coming from an unfaithful tribe. And Navarri is said moreover to come from the city which is called Nadauerⁱ(?) for it is from it that the name was first given, from those countries from which they first came, and it was the Evangelist Mathew and his apostles who converted them by their preaching to the Faith at the very beginning.

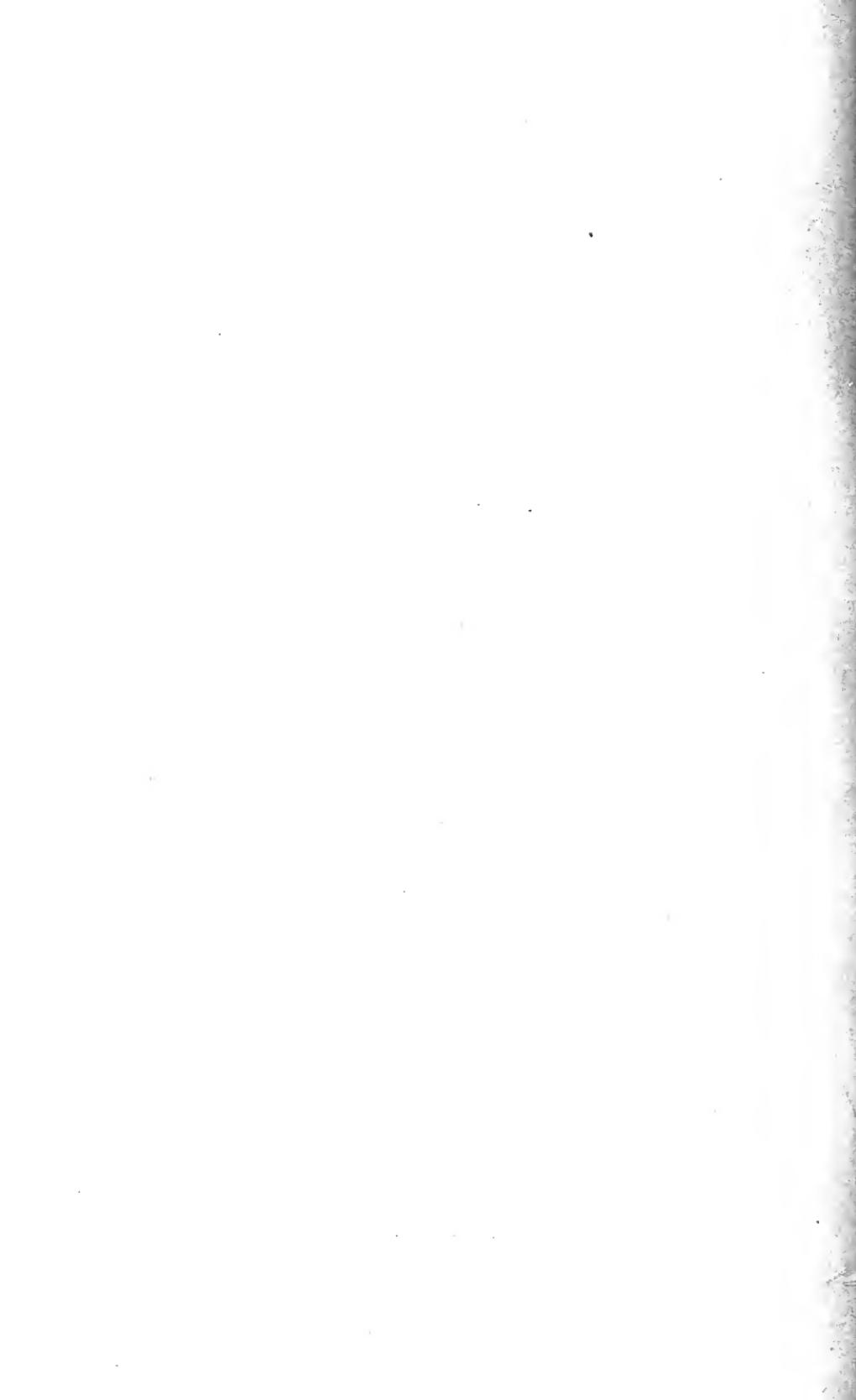
So that this is how the fate of the knights and the exploits^j and conquests of Charles the Great in Spain were ended.

FINIT. AMEN.

^a Nubianos Scotthos et Cornubianos caudatos. ^b Barcinona. ^c Baiona.

^d Oque. ^e castellani. ^f inter Nageram et Pampiloniam et Baionam.

^g Alavae. ^h progenie. ⁱ Naddaver. ^j Lit. goings.



NOTES.

NOTES.

THE KING'S INNS MS.

The vellum MS. marked ten in the Library of the King's Inns, which I did not discover in time to compare with the texts of the other four MSS., is the only one which contains the epistle of Turpin to Leoprandus. The text differs not only in the matter of possessing this letter but in so many other points from all the others that I give here the first folio so far as it is legible. The first eight folios of this codex are taken up with a fragment of the cognate story of Fortibras or Fierebras. On folio nine begins the Turpin story with a nicely illuminated letter in red and yellow, but the colours are now nearly worn away. Folio ten, which also contains part of our text is not a continuation of folio nine, some intermediate leaves having been lost. A misplaced semi-loose leaf after folio fifty-eight contains more of the Turpin text, the fight at Roncesvalles and the betrayal of Ganelon, but much of it has been discoloured and is hard to read. This version, like that in the Book of Lismore, is not divided into chapters. The hand-writing is beautiful and clear and there are not so many contractions as in the Franciscan text and in Egerton. I have extended "t" to "ucus" as before.

Tindscainter and so eibisdil Tuirpinus airdesbug arna cur gu Leoprandus da innisin chinnus do sacr Serlus Mor talam na Sbaine ocus na Gailingsi o nert na Sairresinech.

Beatha ocs slainti anno o Tuirpinus airdesbug Remus ocus companuch Serlus Moir impir gu Leoprandus deaganach Aquis Granis (?) Oir da aitnebnir dini gu nua ocus me i n-otrus sa chatraigh re n-abar Vienna o gaeithibh cro gu sgribuinn cug[at-sa ?] mar do shaer au [t-]impir oirrderc i. Serlus Mor talam na Spainne ocus na Gailingisi o [?] nert [?] na Sairresinech. Is nime sin do shannat[aigheas-sa ?] aird-gniniartha ingantacha ocus a co inmolta ar na Sairresinechaibh Spainnecha noc do [chonnac do mo ?] suilibh fen ocus me re cethri g ac sibul na Spainne ocus na [Gailingsi ?] ana coimedacht malle na ibh do sgribadh ocus a cur dot iunsaighidh esbaluibh, ocus do descibluibh Crist b examla in domuin a derar gurab annsa do rinne esbul glormhar Crist i. San [Sem sen ?] moir ar tus. Ocus as a haithle sin le h Iruath rugadar a deisc[jobail ?] a chorp isin oidhche leo ocus do cuadar no gu rangadur an Gailingsi aris ocus do ac senmoir inn[ti ?] da tarcaisnighedur na Gailingsig a pecad.

[The next two and a-half lines are illegible. It will be seen from this that the epistle is condensed and shortened to less than half the length of the Latin. The MS. continues as follows]

do a rannuib exanla in domuin ocus ar cosaint morain do thirthuib mar ta Saxa ocus an Frainge ocus in Almain ocus in Baidhiniu ocus Lotaringia ocus an Burguin ocus an Edaile ocus in U(?) traine ocus gach flaithe ocus gach cathair da raibe o muir gu muir ar na gabáil do maille nert a laime dochlaeiti ocus ar na saerad a lamuib na Sairresinech ocus ar na cur fa cuing credme do gab in meidi do tuirsi ocus do scis he innus gur triall cumsanad do denam ocus gan dul dochum cathaighthi ni is mo.

Ocus acedoир deissi sin ar fechuin adhaigh eigin ar in fir[m]ament do chonnuic slighi do rellauuib ac tinnscaint o muir Frisia ocus ac dul edir an Almaine ocus an Edaille ocus edir an mBritaine mbic ocus in Fhrainge ocus ac dul co direc trid in nGascuini in Uarrdha ocus in Spain co ruigi in Gailingsi mar a raibe Corp San Sem co folaitteach an tan soin.

Ocus ar mbeth gach n-oidhche do Serlus ac fecuin na sligid sin do gab aga smuaintigad cred da ba . . . ? di ocus ar na smuaintigad sin maille sduider frichnamach do taibhriod do adaig egin ar ndul a tamh persa anorach do delb ro alaind ocus atbert ris a *Mhic cred* do . . . se do fregnir Serlus ocus adubhaint cia thu a [thigh]carna. "Mise San Sem airdesbul," ar se, "dalta *Crist* noch do ba dingmhala le Dia ona grasaib fen do cur do senmoir dona poblaibh ocus is me do marb Iruath ri le cloi . . . [Next two and a-half lines illegible. This finishes the recto of folio nine].

an t-ingnudh lim nar saeruisi mu talumh ona *Sairresineachailh* ocus a med do *cathrachuib* ocus do tirthuib da gabuis, ocus ar in adhbar foillsighim duit mar do rinde Dia, ri is treissi ina gach ri talunuidhe ele, dit, gurab mar sin rug do roghuin tu edir an uile righ d'ullmughadh mu sligidh-sa ocus do chosaint mu talmhan o lamh *Sairresinech* innus co n-ullmaighedh coroin mar luaghaidheacht marthanuigh da chinn duit.

Ocus in tshlighi rellunn do *chonnaic* tu isin firmainint as edh foillsighis co racha tusa maille shuagh mor do *cathughadh* risin cinedh paghanach ocus da saeridh mu sligidh-sa ocus mu thalmun ocus d'fhis m'egalisi ocus mh' athluicthi on inat so co ruig in nGailingsi ocus co mbeth an uile popul o muir co muir ac dul dan oilithre ocus dfhaghail loighaile a pecaidh o Dhia at diaid-si dochum in inuidh *cedia* ocus co mbethi ac innisin molta De ocus a subaltadh ocus a mirbul o ainsir do bethadh-sa co deredh in tsaeghul-si.

Ma sed gluais annois mar is luaithi fheidas tu oir biad-sa gut fhurtacht in gach en chas ocus gnoidheochat coroin ar nim duit o Dhia do chind do saethair, ocus biaid h ainm molta co ruigi in la ndedhenach." Ocus tadbais in cor sin San Sem fa tri do Sherlus.

Ar cluinsia na mbriathur do Serlus ocus ar ngabail muinighne a gelladh in esbuil do tioneil sluaigh imda ocus do gluais dochum na Spaine da cathughadh ris in cinedh *Sairresinech*.

Ar rochtain da Serlus sa Spain isi *ced cathuir* do timchill do gabail, Pairnpilonia, ocus do bi ina timchill re tri mi, ocus nir fed a gabail, oir do bi ar na daingnegad o muraib dofhogla ocus do rinne Serlus an tan sin edur-guighi ar Dia ocus a adubhaint "a Thighearna a Isa Crist os ar son do chredimhe tanug isin (sic) tirthaib-si do *cathughadh* ris in cinedh micredimhec tabuir in *cathair-si* dhamh a n-onoir hanma fein." Ocus adubhaint aris "a San Sem," ar se, "ma as [end of first col., fol. 9 b] fir gurab tu tadbais damh tabair dam in *cathair-si* do gabail" ocus mi cian da eis sin do brigh guigi San Sem ocus tidluicthi Dé an tan da tuitedar a muir uile dochum talmhan. Ocus na *Sairresinigh* ler b'ail baisedh do gabail da coimedadh ina mbethaideh iad ocus in med les nar b'ail do cloighmedh iad.

Ar cluinsia na mirbal sin do berdis na *Sairresinigh* umla in gach inud a teigidh (sic) ocus do cuirdis cis cuigi, ocus tugadar a *cathracha* uile da comus, indus co raibi in tir uile fa chis do: oir da b'ingnud leis in cinedh *Sairresineach* in cinedh Frangeach d'faiscin d'febus an-eduigh ocus d'aille a ngnuisi, gurub uime sin do gabadur cuco co hanoruch sidechanta iad.

Ocus as a haithle sin do cuaidh in ri ar cur a arm uadha d'fhis adluicthi San Sem, ocus tainig as siu co *Petronam* ocus da shaith a shled san fhairgi ann sin, ocus do rinde buidechus ar Dhia ocus ar Shen Sem fa tabairt dochum in inuid siu nar fhed do rochtain roime.

PECULIARITIES IN THE MSS.

Of the three texts which are complete, that of the Book of Lismore is perhaps the oldest. The Franciscan MS. and Egerton more or less agree in the forms they use, which in many cases are different from those of the Lismore MS., and occasionally appear more modern (?) Thus F. uses (I think invariably) *annsa* for the *isin* of *Lis*, a *roibh* for the *araibhi* of *Lis*,

aidhchi for *aghaidh* (i.e. *adaigh*), of *Lis.* *deidigh*, *dordaigh*, etc., for *do eidigh* *do ordaigh* of *Lis.*, *o hoin* invariably for *o shoin* of *Lis.*, *do sag* for *do sagairbh* of *Lis.*

Another peculiarity of F. is that it generally gives the longer forms of the names of countries, as *Almaine* and *Gascuin* for *Almain* and *Gascuin*.

The scribe of each MS. seems to have had a predilection for certain words, and we find F. and E. invariably using *conuig* for the *cusin* of *Lis.*, and *inntogh* for the *impodh* of *Lis.*, and *do inntogh* or *innto* for the *do impo* of *Lis.* They seem never to vary in this. Where *Lis.* writes *guigim*, *cret*, *in nech*, *an neach*, *scoilt ar dho*, *San Sem.* F. writes *guidim*, *cad*, *ineach*, *aneach*, *scoilt ar a dho*, *Sin Sem.* F. has *ruchair-se* for *Lis.* *ragha-sa*, and generally reads *cloisdin* or *cluisdin* where *Lis.* more usually has *cluinsin* and H. *clos.* F. and H. always use *Paganta* or *Pughanta* for *Pagan*, but *Lis.* generally *Padhanta*. *Lis.* invariably writes "*iarla dar ainm*" for the *darb* of F., *darab* of E., *darba* of H. A peculiarity of F. is its making one consonant *do* for two, as *areachtaine* for *ar reachtu-ne*, *inech* for *in nech*, *acechtar* for *ac cechta*. It also uses *y* for *i* in *ymaigh* and *ysa*. All the MSS. usually have the long *e* for the modern *ea*, but *Lismore* sometimes writes in full *beacan*, *teacht*, *each*, *gleann*, *lear*, as do also the others. There are a few traces of dialect. Thus E. sometimes uses *buaim* *buaibh* for *uaim*, p. 40, *uaibh*, p. 36, as in modern Scotch Gaelic. We find in *Lis.* the dat. *anmunnaibh* for the nom. plur. *anmanna*, 12 n.9., and the phonetic *mainne* for *maidne*. *Deis* is an early occurrence of this form for *tar eis*. *Teduis* and *teguis* are obviously spoken corruptions of *tegduis*. An interesting locution is the prefixing of *a* to *chomh* in such phrases as *a chomh mor sin*, etc. This idiom has given rise in County Roscommon and other parts of the west to the pronunciation of *chomh mor sin* as *acho mor sin*, with the accent on the first syllable of *acho*. The doubling of the letter *c*, so common in the seventeenth century, to indicate the sound of *g* has already begun, we find *do thuicc*, *cuccce*, *tainicc*. For *meid* or *meit* F. reads *medi*, and E. usually has *meide* or *mede*. This form is used also in the cognate story of *Fierebras*. The genitive of *Dia* is often *Dia* not *De*, as also in *Fierbras*. E. is fond of using the relative *noch*. *Gan* and *cen* are equally used in all the MS. *Lis.* generally writes *taebh*, not *tuob*. The plural of *ni* a thing is written in full *neithi*, p. 56.

F., H. and E. read *Cornubia* for the *Cordubia* of *Lis.* We find both forms in the Latin MSS. If as I have tried to prove, all the MSS. have come from the same original translation, I can only imagine that some learned scribe with the Latin original before him, in which the name was different from that in the text he was about to copy, changed it, thinking that the name in the original was a mistake. I abstain from examining the verbal forms in our text, in view of the interesting and exhaustive study recently made by Alf Sommerfelt of the verbal system in the *Cath Catharda*, in the *Revue Celtique* (vol. xxxvi., pp. 24—62 and 295—334), as much of what he there says is applicable to our text also.

TURPIN TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

THE only English translation of the *Pseudo-Turpin* ever made, so far as I know, is that of Thomas Rodd which he printed as a preface to his translation of the "*Floresta de varios Romanes sacados de las historias antiguas de los Pares de Francia.*" Rodd's book appears to be rare, for I could discover no copy of it in Trinity College Library. In my copy printed in 1812 Rodd says that he translated from the Latin in "*Spanheims Lives of Ecclesiastical writers.*" But no such work is to be found in *Spanheims*, collected works published in 1701 (the year of his death) at Leyden under

the title "Frederici Spanhemii F. opera omnia in tres tomos divisa," containing 860, 780, and 675 close quarto columns of Latin, nor is any mention made of such a book in the list of works ascribed to him in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, which gives an account of him, his father and his brother, all men of letters.

If Spanheim wrote a book "Lives of Ecclesiastical Writers," it must have been published separately and not included amongst his other works. If Rodd has translated literally, the text he worked from is different from the Frankfort text and that of Castets. Rodd's version was afterwards reprinted without comment by Henry Morley in 1884 in a volume entitled *Mediaeval Tales*.

CHARLEMAGNE.

I TAKE the following account of Charlemagne from an unpublished text, "Sdair na Lumbardach," in the Book of Lismore, which I had prepared for publication here, but which the Committee thought would make this volume too long if included. Or adeir Torpinus espug cu raibhi Karulus Mor sochraidh do corp ocus bruidemhail fiadhanta do silledh. Or do batar ocht troighthi ar airdi 'na chorp ocus se hordlaighi dec a bhfad a troigid, ocus resi co leith 'na fhesoic, ocus resi 'na aghaidh gacha leithi, do sroin co finnfadhl a fhesoigi, ocus troigh o bua a shrona co fiunfadhl a edain.

Do scoiltead ridiri co n-a ech o mhullach a cheind-beirti cu lar d' aen builli claidhimh. Do shineadh se .iiii. crua a n-aefhecht cur bhaat slata dirghe o neart a lamb. Do thoibhduidh ridiri armtha eidighthi 'na shesamh amhlaidh ocus do chuireadh timeall a cinn he, ocus do leicedh ar lar co socair aris he. Mil muighe ocus da circ no gegh ocus da chirc a proinn a n-aefhecht, ocus becan fina ar cur nisci trit, ocus is bec do ibheadh, or ni ibheadh acht tri deocha ar a shuiper. Do chumhduigh ecalsa imda ar grad De. Do urail a or ocus a uili innmusa do thabhairt 'na thimceall a n-aen alla, cor bha comhard ris fein iat, ocus ar ndearbhad a neirt ocsn a shear-dhachta dho dorindioighre do Dhaia ar gach ni da roibhi aigi, ocus do chuaidh fein a moghsaine do Dia. Bliadhain in Tighearna in tan sin enic bl. dec ocsn ocht ced.

i.e. For the bishop Torpinus says that Charles the Great was pleasing of body and fierce and wild in his look. And his body was eight feet in height, and sixteen inches was the length of his foot, and a span and a half in his beard, and a span in his face, in each half of it, from his nose to the hair of his beard, and a foot from the bottom of his nose to the hair of his face.

He used to split a knight with his steed from the top of his headpiece to his middle with one sword stroke. He used to stretch four horse shoes together so that they became straight rods with the strength of his hands. He used to lift a knight in arms and armour, standing so, and used to put him round his head and let him down gently again. A hare and two fowl or a goose and two fowl together was his dinner, and a little wine with water through it. And it is little he used to drink, for he used only to take three draughts at his supper. He built many churches for the love of God. He ordered his gold and all his treasures to be brought round him into one hall, so that they were [piled] as high as himself, and having proved his strength and manly vigour he made God heir to all that he possessed; and he himself went into God's service. The year of our Lord at that time was eight hundred and fifteen years."

That the exaggerated accounts of Charlemagne's personal appearance are still not wholly impossible is shown by the following extract which I clipped out of the "Daily Mail" of September 22nd, 1916, concerning one

Frederick Hempster, born in Bayswater, London, who was then twenty-one years old and 8 ft. 2 ins. high.

"His weight is twenty-seven stone. A penny will pass through his signet ring. In boots he takes size 22 $\frac{1}{2}$. Three ordinary beds have to be placed side by side for him to sleep in. On the railway he travels in the guard's van, and by road in a special carriage or motor car. He can span two octaves on a piano and light a cigarette comfortably at a street lamp."

THE ENGLISH ROLAND.

A CERTAIN amount of the Pseudo-Turpin was translated into early English also, in the form of a metrical romance. It does not appear to have been popular, for Ellis who published an account of the poem, which is entitled Roland and Ferragus in his Early English Metrical Romances, Vol. II., p. 291, knew of only one version, that in the Auchinleck MS., of which Scott made him a copy. It begins with the wildly absurd statement that

An hundred winters it was and three
Sithen God died upon the tree
That Charles the king.
Had all France in his hand
Denmark and England
Withouten any lesing
Lorraine and Lombardy
Gascogne Bayonne and Picardie
Was till his bidding.
And emperor he was of Rome
And Lord of all Christendom
Then was he a high lording.

After some extraneous matter not borrowed from Turpin the poet comes back to that narrative and takes pains to give the names of sixty-six cities which Charlemagne conquered in Spain, but his transcriber, Ellis remarks, has taken equal pains to render them utterly unintelligible.

Mahonet's image is thus described :—

And an image of great pouste
Stood on a roche by the sea
In the gilden londe
His name was Salanicodas
As a man y-shapen he was
And held a glaive in hond.
Mahoun maked him with gin
And did many fiends therein
As ich understand
For to sustain the image
And set him on high stage
For no man n' old he wond.

Ferragus is thus described :—

He had twenty mens strength
And forty feet of length
Thilke Paynim had
And four feet in the face
Y-meten on the place
And fifteen in brede.
His nose was a foot and more, etc.

When Roland pierces the giant through the navel the wounded man cried aloud to his God Mahomet. But

Roland lough for that cry
And "Mahoun sikerly
No may help thee nought.
No Jupiter no Apolin
No is worth the brust of a swin
In heart no in thought."

The poem ends with the death of Ferragus, and then begins the Romance of Sir Otuel, dovetailed into it as in the Welsh version.

ORIGIN OF TURPIN'S HISTORY.

CASIMIR Oudin, the distinguished French scholar, 1638-1717, wrote as follows (*de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis antiquis*, Vol. II., p. 68).

Auctor hujus operis non Turpinus sed Callixtus II. Papa, qui tribus post mortem Caroli Magni saeculis, illam fabulam confinxit, non ut Carolini Magnum, sed ut sanctum Iacobum Apostolum et ecclesiam Compostellanam, quam ardenter amat, illustriores his fabulis faceret: unde nil mirum quod in MS. Cantabrigiensi S. Benedicti Callistus II. hanc fabulam a se confictam, dicat *opus authenticum*, primumque omnium illius mentionem faciat.

This may not be true—and Oudin was no friend of the papacy—but the book seems to have been approved of in 1122 by Calixtus II., and this helped its popularity. If however the letter of Callixtus recommending the book to the faithful as authentic be also spurious then the first mention of it goes back to 1165.

Warton thinks the book was forged about 1110 with the design of helping forward the Crusades.

ROLAND OR ORLANDO.

ON Lady Day in August in the year 778 the rearguard of Charlemagne's army was cut off in the valley of Roncevaux or Roncesvalles in the Pyrenees. It was overwhelmed by the local tribes, probably the ancestors of the present Basques, and perished almost to a man. "In this battle," says Eginhard, who chronicled the life of Charlemagne, "Roland, warden of the Marches of Brittany, with many others was slain." This is the kernel of historic truth that lies behind the Roland story. In later times, as in the case of King Arthur of Welsh Romance or Finn Mac Cunhail of Irish story, a Roland myth arose which dominated all the literature of the Charlemagne period. Roland became the leading figure in the *Chansons de Geste*, the golden age of which extends from the middle of the eleventh to the middle of the thirteenth century. The *Chanson de Roland* is itself the first and the finest of these efforts "la plus antique la plus célèbre la plus belle de toutes les chansons de geste." The Jongleur Taillefer who went before Norman William at the Battle of Hastings and who "monlt bien chantout" was "singing about Charlemagne and Roland and Olivier and the vassals who died at Roncesvalles." The song of Roland is the *Iliad* of France. It is founded partly upon our Turpin story and partly upon older chansons. Earlier poems probably existed from which the Pseudo-Turpin derived part of his chronicle. This is generally conceded, the only matter in dispute being as to what form these early poems had taken, were they epic like the "Roland" or were they only lyric?

ROLAND IN SPAIN.

ROLAND's steed is mentioned in the well known Spanish ballad of *Gayferos* for which see *Don Quixote*, chap. 9, book ii. His lover, *Melisenda*, seeing him surrounded by the Moors exclaims :

Si quisiesse Dios del cielo
Y santa Maria su madre
Fuese tal vuestro caballo
Como èl de Don Roldan.

Don Roldan is the Spanish name for Roland in the popular ballads, and there exists a well known "Romance" of that name. Readers of *Don Quixote* will remember how while the Knight and Sancho are conversing together in the streets of *Toboso* a peasant chances to pass by singing the ballad of *Roncesvalles*, at which the knight exclaims, "Let me die Sancho if anything lucky will befall us to-night, don't you hear what that peasant is singing"?

GANELON.

Ganelon is called *Guenes* in the *Chanson de Roland*, which poem is really a trilogy founded on the treachery of *Guenes*. Part one tells of that treachery, part two of the death of Roland, and part three of the punishment of the traitors. *Guenes* is known in the Spanish ballads as "el falso Galalon. He is also found as *Galaron*. Antonio Reuter quoted by Rodd in his preface to the "Floresta de varios romances" says that the chronicles of Spain and France assert "que el conde *Galaron* dio ocasion a la esta perdida de los Franceses [in *Roncesvalles*] causando que el Emperador se detuviesse y no pudiesse socorrer a los suyos." In the Irish *Fortibras* story Stokes once translates *Geinntilion* of the Irish text by *Ganelon*, and in the Welsh version of our text he is *Gwenwlyd*.

FERACUTUS.

ELLIS in his specimens of Ancient Metrical Romances has the following amusing passage on *Feracutus*, "Possibly, too, the terrible *Ferragus* may be a giant of Celtic origin, for Selden has told us (Drayton's *Polyolbion*, song 6) that the war song in use among the Irish kerns was called *Pharoh*; and the vulgar Irish, as Mr. Walker informs us, suppose the subject of this song to have been *Forroch* or *Ferragh*, a terrible giant, of whom they tell many a marvellous tale"!

For the fancy about *Pharaoh* see Keating's preface to his *Forus Feasa*.

GLOSSARY.

Page.	Page
abhdhainecht <i>abbacy abbotship</i> 74	cend :—ana cend sin in addition
adlaicti gen of adlacadh <i>a tomb</i> 6	to that 28
aenda <i>one-fold</i> , aendacht <i>one-ness</i> 54, 56	cin :—lciceadar a cin da n-armuibh 6
[ar]aeinshlighidh <i>together</i> 50	claiteoir <i>a victor</i> 44, 48
agra <i>claim, argument against</i> 34	clodh <i>defeating</i> 46
atthech=athach, fathach <i>giant</i>	cothughadh <i>to support</i> 70, to
aibdhineacht 12, see abhdhainecht	rally or make head or maintain one's ground 64
airmhech <i>renowned</i> 6, 72, 76	Apparently a military term, see An Cath Cathardha 1.5720.
[It can not be the same word as airmitech or oirmitnech, aireamh is used for "fame" in my edition of Giolla an Fhiugha, page 6.]	corugh (<i>with long o</i>) <i>a choir</i> 92
airneis <i>equipment, i.e. harness</i> 14	cora <i>id.</i> 94
[ba]ailgiusach le S. <i>S was desirous</i> 32	coirthi <i>tired, weary</i> 78
aidhbhseach <i>handsome, striking</i> 72	conainm in lai <i>the anniversary of the day</i>
[a u]-jairecal bais in articulo mortis 94	colb <i>club</i> 80
ainfibh, dat. plur. of aine <i>a fast</i> 104	crois the cross-hilt of a sword 84
aidhigheacht <i>hospitality, entertainment</i> , aidchideacht <i>id.</i> 44	(co) cudrama, <i>equally</i> 56
ainmhfesach <i>ignorant</i> 56	crandghaili : droichet cr. a bridge of timber
alad <i>a wound</i>	cuil a corner 40
arrait <i>error</i> 34, ariud aruid <i>id.</i>	cumdaigh <i>build (churches, etc)</i> 12
arus <i>apparently used for camp</i> 38	daingnighin: <i>I asseverate, confirm</i> 38
as,—do chuaidh as he disappeared	Dee, a god, <i>Nom. and Dat.</i> isin
ascada <i>gifts</i> 76	dee, on dee 10, etc.
ataigh <i>request</i> 72	deisigh <i>equip</i> 28, <i>prepare, array</i> 46
bannilam <i>a cubit</i>	deirridius, <i>a secret</i> 70
baramhail (followed by a gen.), similitude of 46, 96	deghbbalaidh (<i>a noun in the gen.</i>) scented, perfumed 100
basgaire <i>clapping of hands in grief</i> 98	deachta 112
biadhtachas, <i>the liability to feed one's overlord</i> 28	derbhta, <i>proven</i> 64
biathmaid <i>we feed</i> 40	diablaideacht, <i>devilry, devility</i> 10
braithtigi, <i>Gen. Fem. of braithtech deceitful</i>	dithigh, <i>damage, hurt, inflict loss</i> 44
breathnuigh <i>judge consider</i> 68	dliati, <i>dignity</i> 70
na brondtuibh <i>in his presents</i> 72	dingbhala, <i>suitable, fitting, worthy</i> 90, 110
breith :—ata ar brcith do it is attainable by him	(gu) dimhaineach, <i>vainly</i> ? 90
buidh <i>mild clement, translated by "clemens"</i> 112	ditnightheoir, <i>a protector</i> 96
camra <i>a sewer</i> 24	dairmhe, <i>innumerable</i> , 102, doairme <i>id.</i> 12, 106
cennuis <i>used as an adj., mild</i> 50	dlig : ni dligeann an lucht, <i>the people ought not</i> 36
ceimnigh <i>proceed</i> 4	do leith a ndroma, <i>in the rear</i> 78
	doimhesda re, <i>incomparable with</i> 84
	dorncla, <i>the hilt of a sword</i> 84
	dothuarascbala, <i>indescribable</i> 94

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dofhillte, <i>translation of "in-felixibilis"</i> ...	96	gorm : fer gorm, <i>a Moor, a negro</i>	58
doirt, <i>in a military sense</i> , see p. 98		grainne, <i>a grain</i> ...	58
dothamaisc, <i>inscrutable?</i> ...	48	graaine, <i>disgust, horror</i> ...	64
dofaisneisi, <i>indescribable</i> ...	64		
drithlineach, <i>sparkling (of eyes)</i> 72			
eathach—athach, fathach, <i>a giant</i> 48		iarmhoracht, <i>pursuit, search, inquiry</i> ...	100
éboire, <i>ivory</i> ...	86	imlegan imlecan inilican, <i>navel, imlinn id.</i> ...	52
edh: re hedh na hoighthi, <i>throughout the night</i> ...	98	ingnad : do rindi ingnad dhe, <i>he wondered at it</i> ...	58
eigreacht=oighreacht, <i>heirship</i> 28		(ta) ingantas acu dhe, <i>id.</i> ...	50
eighe, eiginhe, <i>cries</i> ...	44	inn, <i>end, extremity, inn a mheoir</i>	98
eicin, <i>used in the sense of "some,"</i> ced eicin, <i>"some hundred or so"</i> 82		innechlan, <i>requital</i> ...	112
einne gen. of ecin, <i>violence</i> ...	114	inncomurtha, <i>a mark</i> ...	102
esbartain : ar tect don esbertain, <i>on the coming of evening</i> 20, 52		intuctha dh'aire, <i>observable</i> ...	40
esbaidh, <i>failure, giving way through fatigue</i> ...	74	intugtha dh'aidh, <i>id.</i> ...	80
etne, <i>the kernel of a nut</i> ...	55	irse, (gen.) of <i>faith or religion</i> 8	
faris, <i>along with him, f. an athar, along with the father</i> ...	108	Iubhul, <i>a Jew</i> ...	86
farit, <i>along with thee</i> ...	92		
faisitueach gen. of faisitin, <i>confession</i> ...	92	leath: do leathadar son coill, <i>they dispersed through the wood</i> ...	-
fedh, <i>a fathom</i> ...	50	leuc, <i>a league, (tri mile) tri leuic, three leagues</i> ...	32
ferdhuirn, <i>a man's fist (in length)</i> (gur) fhoilghitar, <i>so that they covered</i> ...	50	leith : do leith a ndroma, see druim	78
(cu) foluigtheach, <i>secretly, covertly</i>	4	leithe, <i>breadth</i> ...	72
fomaigthech, <i>obedient</i> ...	76		
(do) fholchatar iat fein, <i>they concealed themselves</i> ...	80	ma=um, <i>concerning, about</i> ...	48
fodhuin=foghain, <i>to be of use...</i>	52	macam an oglaign <i>a young warrior?</i> 4	
foghnas ...	42	(isin) mheidh, <i>in the balance</i> ...	102
freasgabhall, <i>ascension, i.e. death</i>	104	midingbhala, <i>unworthy</i> ...	112
fresdal um chath, <i>give battle to</i>	32	mil muighe, <i>a hare</i> ...	72
frichnamhach, <i>diligent (in the sense of liberal)</i> ...	40	misideir, <i>emissary, herald</i> ...	22
furtachtaigh, <i>a helper</i> ...	4	mongair, <i>sound, murmur</i> ...	64
		mongur, <i>id.</i> ...	30
gaire, <i>proximity</i> ...	88	mucha, <i>the early part of the morning</i> ...	78, 98
[ag a] gallughadh, <i>suffering from sickness</i> ...	104	(o) mulluch gu lar, <i>from top to bottom (of a stone)</i> ...	86
geinnteach, gen. geinntigh, <i>a wedge</i> ...	114, 116	(ar a) mhuin, <i>on top of him (not "on his back")</i> ...	94
geissanan or gesachtach or geiseacht, <i>a peacock, i.e. the screecher</i> ...	72	(do) mhuin gnimha, <i>as a result of action or deed</i> ...	98
gnaithigh, <i>make free with, use</i> ...	84	muirireach, <i>burdensome</i> ...	74
gnoaigh, <i>to be busied on, to do...</i>	102	mul, <i>a mule</i> ...	102
gnoaighfet-sa, <i>also gnoideochad-sa, I shall gain, win (still commonly used in this sense in Connacht)</i>	4		
		nait=na or ioua, <i>than (before a plural)</i> ...	66
		naisc, <i>tie, with air—impose or bind on</i> ...	104
		neammbuidh, <i>not mild, fierce</i> ...	66
		neifni, <i>nothingness</i> ...	56
		neamhasaigh for neamharsaigh young ...	72
		oglachas, <i>service</i> ...	66
		ontis, ontist? n. 9	80

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114	ar aoin-shlighidh, <i>together</i> , 60 bis.
88	socraide, <i>pleasant, smiling (of faces)</i> 5
18	spreidh, <i>gen. spreidhi, booty</i>
14	subalta, <i>a virtue. I have extended the plur. once as subalte as in le Breac, subaltae would have been better</i> 4, etc.
76	suaichentas, <i>an ensign</i> 66
12	tagh, togh, <i>choose</i> 4, 34
72	tacar : aighthe tacair, <i>masks, "larvae"</i> 64
60	tathair, <i>disgrace</i> 36, 60
72	do thadhbhaisedh doibh, <i>it appeared to them</i>
58	teagdus, <i>a foundation, a house, also teduis and teguis</i> 112, etc.
48	tecmad, <i>aliter teigemadh a launhaibh from tengmaigh, fall into the hands of</i> 86, 88
28	tesladh, <i>dying</i> 14
86	teit for tuit 36
84	therna se, <i>he escaped</i> 62
40	tindmes ? 86
100	tinnisnaigh, <i>hasten ?</i> 94
100	(co) tindisnach, <i>hastily</i> 106
20	tor, <i>a tower</i> 62
92	toicthi, <i>fortune</i> 96
46	tosach, <i>a battle front or division</i> 42
68	trumpoir, <i>a trumpeter, also stocaire</i> 94
6	trithach, <i>threefold</i> 56
68	ubhull, <i>the pommel of a sword hilt</i> 84
6	ucht : tucadar ucht ar a chéile, <i>they faced one another</i>
114	uillena, <i>angles (of a pillar)</i> 114

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THE IRISH TEXTS SOCIETY was established in 1898 for the purpose, of publishing texts in the Irish language, accompanied by such introductions, English translations, glossaries, and notes as may be deemed desirable.

The Annual Subscription is 7 6 (American subscribers, two dollars), payable on January 1st of each year, on payment of which members will be entitled to receive, post free, the current volume or, at the option of the member, any one of the earlier volumes which may still be available. There is no entrance fee.

The payment of a single sum of £5 (colonial or foreign members £5 5s. 0d.; American members 27 dollars), entitles to life membership. Life members will receive one copy of each volume issued subsequently to the receipt of this sum by the Society.

Vols. I., II. and III. are now out of print and others are rapidly becoming scarce. The ordinary sale price to non-members is 10/6 per volume (post free).

The Council makes a strong appeal to all interested in the preservation and publication of Irish Manuscripts to join the Society and to contribute to its funds, and especially to the Editorial Fund which has been established for the remuneration of Editors for their arduous work.

All communications should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, Miss ELEANOR HULL, 20 Hanover Square, London, W. 1.

IRISH TEXTS SOCIETY.

THE Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Irish Texts Society was held on January 31st, 1918, at 20 Hanover Square, W. 1.

Mr. R. Flower, Chairman of the Executive Council, presided. The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were taken as read. The Hon. Secretary read the

NINETEENTH ANNUAL REPORT.

The Council regrets that Dr. Douglas Hyde's Volume, "The Wars of Charlemagne,"* is not yet ready for distribution, but considering the difficulties attending the printing and publication of books at the present time, the fact that the printing is well advanced may be regarded as satisfactory. It is hoped that it may be issued to subscribers in the course of the next few months.

This volume will be followed by Rev. Lambert McKenna's edition of the "Contention of the Bards," about which his most recent report says: "The text translation and notes are quite ready. The glossary and introduction are in first proof. . . . my book could be announced as about to appear early this year." We thus hope to receive both volumes in the course of this year.

After serious consideration the Council has decided on the important step of undertaking a complete revision of the larger Irish Dictionary with a view to its publication so soon as circumstances permit.

The hearty co-operation of the original Compiler and Editor, Rev. P. S. Dinneen, M.A., has again been secured and he is already at work on his laborious task. The misadventure which overtook the plates and remaining copies of the larger Dictionary has deprived the public of the possibility of purchasing copies during the past two years, and the Society also has been deprived of the profit obtained from Dictionary sales, on which it has always relied to supplement its slender resources. At such a time as this, when printing and publication have nearly doubled in cost, the loss has been a severe one.

It is, nevertheless, intended materially to extend and supplement the contents of the present Dictionary in many directions, and the book will be made in every way more useful for the student of the language. The cost of this undertaking is estimated at over £1500, and to meet this outlay, which far exceeds the resources of the Society, it is intended, as on the first occasion, to raise a guarantee fund to enable the work to be proceeded with immediately. The Editor estimates that two or more years will be required for its preparation before printing begins, and meanwhile funds must be provided for current expenses. The Council

* *Sabhaltaí Septuaginta mórí.*

directs the attention of its members and friends to the enclosed appeal, feeling sure that the ready and generous response made in 1903—1904 to the former appeal for guarantees will be repeated on this occasion, and that a work so urgently needed will not be allowed to drop for lack of a loan which is certain to be repaid in the near future.

His Honour, Judge O'Connor, K.C., and Mr. G. P. Byrne, of Shanghai, have become Life-Members of the Society making, in all ten Life Members.

Eighteen new ordinary members have joined the Society during the year, as follows:—

Miss Aileen Curran.	James Moynihan.
The Rev. J. J. Deenihan.	Τ. Ο Δεηναίην.
M. Hamill.	The Rev. J. O'Donoghue.
The Rev. J. M. Heggarty.	Κ. Ο Μηγκάρι.
A. J. Ireland.	Thomas J. Owens.
The Rev. M. C. Keating.	Joseph Phelan.
J. R. Lankford.	Rathmines Public Library
Henry Nicholls.	Swansea Public Library.
The Rev. T. Moynihan.	The Rev. P. Williams.

Two resignations have been received.

On the proposal of Rev. T. O'Sullivan, seconded by Dr. Crone, the Report was adopted.

Mr. T. W. Rolleston then read the appeal for a guarantee loan fund for defraying the current costs of the proposed new edition of the Dictionary, and slight alterations were suggested with a view to greater clearness. These alterations were subsequently incorporated in the document.

It was decided to print the appeal in Irish and English and to distribute it widely both at home and abroad. The appeal will be found accompanying this Report.

The Financial Statement and Balance Sheet were then presented by the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Samuel Boyle, and adopted on the proposal of Dr. England, seconded by Dr. Crone, and carried.

A vacancy on the Council having been declared, Miss Hull proposed that the name of Dr. J. Crone, J.P., be added to the Council. This was seconded by Rev. T. O'Sullivan, and carried unanimously.

The re-election of the out-going members of Council was carried on the proposal of Rev. T. O'Sullivan, seconded by Dr. Crone.

The re-election of Professor Douglas Hyde as President of the Society was carried on the proposal of Dr. England, seconded by Mr. Ernest Rhys, and that of the Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer, on the proposal of Rev. T. O'Sullivan, seconded by Dr. England.

A vote of thanks to the Auditors, Mr. P. D. O'Hart and T. V. O'Sullivan, for their kind services, having been proposed by Dr. Crone, seconded by Mrs. Banks, and carried, the meeting adjourned.

THE IRISH TEXTS SOCIETY.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT, 1917.

THE SOCIETY'S ORDINARY PUBLICATIONS.

RECEIPTS.			DISBURSEMENTS.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
To Subscriptions, Ordinary	128	8 0	By Balance from previous		
" Life	5	0 0	Account	266	3 10
" Donations	5	15 0	" Editing	20	0 0
" Interest on Investments	19	6 3	" Postage & Stationery	3	8 0
David Nutt, Publisher,			" Salary and Sundries	18	12 6
Settlement £55 18 3	34	12 1	" Printing and Binding	179	16 10
Less previously published	£21 6 2				
" Simpkin Marshall's" a/c	13	12 0			
Balance	281	7 10			
Total	£488	1 2	Total	£488	1 2

THE SOCIETY'S IRISH-ENGLISH DICTIONARIES.

RECEIPTS.			DISBURSEMENTS.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
To Receipts already published	3549	4 11	By Payments previously published	2563	6 2
" Sales (net)	126	9 2	" Printing and Binding	95	7 0
			" Salary and Sundries	20	4 1
			" Balance	996	16 10
Total	£3675	14 1	Total	£3675	14 1

THE SOCIETY'S JOINT CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

ASSETS.			LIABILITIES.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
To Balance (brought down)	996	16 10	By Balance (brought down)	281	7 10
			Net Assets.		
			Investments	485	0 0
			Petty Cash—Assistant		
			Secretary	5	0 0
			Cash in Bank	225	9 0
Total	£996	16 10	Total	£996	16 10

(Signed) SAM. BOYLE, *Hon. Treasurer*

Examined Books, Accounts, and Balances, and found correct.

(Signed) P. D. O'HART,
T. V. O'SULLIVAN, } *Auditors.*

NOTE.—The Council desires to express its thanks to the Auditors for their kindness in examining and auditing the accounts of the Society.

GENERAL RULES.

OBJECTS.

1.—The Society is instituted for the purpose of promoting the publication of Texts in the Irish Language, accompanied by such Introductions, English Translations, Glossaries and Notes as may be deemed desirable.

CONSTITUTION.

2.—The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, an Executive Council, a Consultative Committee and Ordinary and Life Members.

OFFICERS.

3.—The Officers of the Society shall be the President, the Honorary Secretary and the Honorary Treasurer.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

4.—The entire management of the Society shall be entrusted to the Executive Council, consisting of the Officers of the Society and not more than ten other Members, to whom the Executive Council may add by Co-option not more than two members, who shall retire annually.

5.—All property of the Society shall be vested in the Executive Council, and shall be disposed of as they shall direct by a two-thirds majority.

6.—Three Members of the Executive Council shall retire each year by rotation at the Annual General Meeting, but shall be eligible for re-election, the Members to retire being selected according to seniority of election, or, in case of equality, by lot. The Council shall have power to co-opt Members to fill up casual vacancies occurring throughout the year. Any Member of Council who is absent from five consecutive Ordinary Meetings of the Council to which he (or she) has been duly summoned, shall be considered as having vacated his (or her) place on the Council.

CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE.

7.—The Consultative Committee, or individual Members thereof, shall give advice, when consulted by the Executive Council, on questions relating to the Publications of the Society, but shall not be responsible for the management of the business of the Society.

MEMBERS.

8.—Members may be elected either at the Annual General Meeting, or from time to time, by the Executive Council.

SUBSCRIPTION.

9.—The Subscription for each Member of the Society shall be 7/6 per annum (American subscribers, two dollars), entitling the Member to one copy (post free) of the volume published by the Society for the year, and giving the right to vote on all questions submitted to the General Meetings of the Society. The payment of a single sum of £5 (Colonial or foreign members £5 5s. 0d., American members 27 dollars) entitles to life membership. Life members will receive one copy of each volume issued subsequently to the receipt of this sum by the Society.

10.—Subscriptions shall be payable in advance on the 1st January in each year.

11.—Members whose Subscriptions for the year have not been paid are not entitled to any volume published by the Society for that year, and any Member whose Subscription for the current year remains unpaid, and who receives and *retains* any publication for the year, shall be held liable for the payment of the full published price of such publication.

12.—The Publications of the Society shall not be sold to persons other than Members, except at an advanced price.

13.—Members whose Subscriptions for the current year have been paid shall alone have the right of voting at the Annual General Meeting of the Society.

14.—Members wishing to resign must give notice in writing to the Honorary Secretary, before the end of the year, of their intention to do so: otherwise they will be liable for their Subscriptions for the ensuing year.

EDITORIAL FUND.

15.—A fund shall be opened for the remuneration of Editors for their work in preparing Texts for publication. All subscriptions and donations to this fund shall be purely voluntary, and shall not be applicable to other purposes of the Society.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

16.—A General Meeting shall be held each year in the month of January, or as soon after as the Executive Council shall determine, when the Council shall submit their Report and the Accounts of the Society for the preceding year, and when vacant seats on the Council shall be filled up, and the ordinary business of a General Meeting transacted.

AUDIT.

17.—The Accounts of the Society shall be audited each year by auditors appointed at the preceding General Meeting.

CHANGES IN THESE RULES.

18.—With the notice summoning the General Meeting, the Executive Council shall give notice of any change proposed by them in these Rules. Ordinary Members proposing any change in the Rules must give notice thereof in writing to the Honorary Secretary seven clear days before the date of the Annual General Meeting.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

(N.B.—Members are earnestly requested to send Notice of any Change of Address to the Hon. Sec., 20 Hanover Square, London, W.1, to avoid mis-postage of Books and Notices).

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